

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

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Art. I. *A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches, by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.* By Andrew Reed, D.D., and James Matheson, D.D. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. xx., 1024. Price 1l. 4s. London, 1835.

FEW of our readers can require to be informed, that the travels in the United States of which these volumes contain the narrative and result, originated in a Resolution of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, appointing two of their body to proceed as a Deputation to visit the transatlantic churches, and 'to collect and communicate such information as will be 'mutually interesting, respecting the state of religion in both 'countries.' This Resolution arose out of a fraternal overture on the part of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, conveyed in a letter from the Rev. Dr. E. S. Ely, their permanent clerk, in which an interchange of delegates was proposed as likely to be of mutual advantage*. Accordingly, the Rev. Andrew Reed, of London, and the Rev. Jas. Matheson, of Durham, having consented to undertake this Mission, embarked at Liverpool in March 1834. They were the bearers of communications from the British and Foreign Bible Society, addressed to the American Bible Society; and were also entrusted with similar communications from the London Missionary Society, the Home Missionary Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Temperance Society, &c., addressed to kindred institutions in the United States; but their immediate errand was, to attend the sittings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia, and the various Associations of the Congregational Churches in New England, as far as the limited period of their visit would permit. The spirit in which their

* See Congreg. Mag. 1833. p. 379.

mission was undertaken, was decidedly and entirely Catholic ; and nothing could be more gratifying and satisfactory than the reception which they met with from their American brethren of all denominations. The report they have brought back, is drawn up under the influence of the cordial feeling which could not but be produced by the hospitable attention and marked respect shewn to the Deputation ; but, favourable as is their testimony, on the whole, to the state of society in America, and uniformly candid as is the tone of their remarks, there is no indication of any wish to conceal or to colour the facts of the case ; and every reader of these volumes must rise from the perusal, with an entire confidence in the honesty and fairness, as well as the competency of the witnesses.

The first volume comprises Dr. Reed's personal narrative : the second is occupied with a summary report containing the matured opinions and reflections of the joint authors ; and with a narrative of a separate visit, by Dr. Matheson, to Canada and Pennsylvania.

On arriving at New York, the two reverend gentlemen were immediately waited upon by a deputation from the ' Third Presbytery ' of that city, and invited to attend its sittings, as well as to accept of the hospitable accommodations prepared for them in a private family. They made but a short stay, however, at this time ; being anxious to pay a visit to the Federal City while Congress was sitting. On reaching Washington, they were quickly found out by the worthy minister of the first Presbyterian Church, who insisted upon their taking up their quarters at his house ; urging, ' that it was against usage in America, to allow ' clergymen ' to stay at an inn.' The impression made upon the visitors by the proceedings of the American Parliament was not that of high admiration. At the time, public interest was fixed upon the debates in the Senate ; and the excitement was raised to the highest pitch.

Referring to the most distinguished members of that body, Dr. Reed says :—

' I might do them injustice, if I attempted any thing more than general impression from such slight opportunities of knowing them. Suffice it to say, Clay's strength is in popular address ; Webster's, in cool argument ; Calhoun's, in his imagination, and his weakness too ; Fellinghuysen's, in his truly Christian character ; Ewing's, in his stout honesty, notwithstanding his bad taste and false quotations ; and Forsyth's, in his vanity,—certainly in my eye the very image of self-complacency.'

Altogether, the Writer's expectations were somewhat disappointed by Congress.

' In its presence I was not impressed, as I think I should have been in the presence of the men who signed the Declaration ; and my eye wandered over the assembly, anxiously seeking another Washington,

who, by his moral worth, mental sagacity, and unquestionable patriotism, should, in a second crisis, become the confidence and salvation of his country ; but it wandered in vain. Such a one might have been there ; the occasion might bring out many such ; but I failed to receive such an impression. Nor do I think on the whole, that the representation is worthy of the people. It has less of a religious character than you would expect from so religious a people ; and it has also less of an independent character than should belong to so thriving a people. But, as matters stand, it is now only a sacrifice for the thriving man to be a member of Congress ; while, to the needy man, it is a strong temptation. In this state of things, it is not wonderful that the less worthy person should labour hard to gain an election ; or that, when it is gained, he should consider his own interests rather than those of his constituents. The good Americans must look to this, and not suffer themselves to be absorbed in the farm and merchandize ; lest, on an emergency, they should be surprised to find their fine country, and all its fine prospects, in the hands of a few ambitious and ill-principled demagogues.' Vol. I., pp. 30, 31.

At George Town in the Federal District, there is a Roman Catholic seminary of some celebrity, which is 'a great help' to the Romish interest, and is 'nourished from Europe.' It is said, 'that the bishop of the district has lately received 25,000 dollars 'from the Pope!' Considerable uneasiness and alarm were found to prevail in many places, in the minds of religious persons, in relation to the spread of Romanism, the partisans of which are greatly assisted both by supplies of money and by teachers from Europe, whose superior qualifications hold out a strong temptation to parents to place their children under their tuition. At Lexington, out of four schools, three were in the hands of Roman Catholics. In connexion with this subject, we find the following remarks in the second volume.

'It should really seem that the Pope, in the fear of expulsion from Europe, is anxious to find a reversion in this new world. The crowned heads of the Continent, having the same enmity to free political institutions, which his Holiness has to free religious institutions, willingly unite in the attempt to enthrall this people. They have heard of the necessities of the West ; they have the foresight to see that the West will become the heart of the country, and ultimately determine the character of the whole ; and they have resolved to establish themselves there. Large, yea, princely grants have been made from the Leopold Society, and other sources, chiefly, though by no means exclusively, in favour of this portion of the empire that is to be. These sums are expended in erecting showy churches and colleges, and in sustaining priests and emissaries. Every thing is done to captivate, and to liberalise, in appearance, a system essentially despotic. The sagacity of the effort is discovered, in avoiding to attack and shock the prejudices of the adult, that they may direct the education of the young. They look to the future ; and they really have great advantages in doing so. They send out teachers excellently qualified ; superior, certainly, to

the run of native teachers. Some value the European modes of education, as the more excellent; others value them as the mark of fashion: the demand for instruction, too, is always beyond the supply, so that they find little difficulty in obtaining the charge of Protestant children. This, in my judgment, is the point of policy which should be especially regarded with jealousy; but the actual alarm has arisen from the disclosure of a correspondence which avows designs on the West, beyond what I have here set down. It is a curious affair, and is one other evidence, if evidence were needed, that Popery and Jesuitism are one.

‘There is, however, no possible cause for alarm, though there undoubtedly is for diligence. Romanism has increased positively, but not relatively. It has not advanced in proportion to the other denominations, nor in proportion to the population. Baltimore, the stronghold of Popery, was once almost wholly Catholic; it is now greatly outnumbered by Protestant sects. The Romanists do not number, as attendants, more than 550,000 persons; and the influx of Catholics from Germany and Ireland may answer for that amount. Of course, every liberal and Christian mind would desire, that those of that faith, settling in these states, should be provided with the means of worship in agreement with their conscientious opinions; and had this been the intention of the efforts, they had been only laudable.

‘Nothing can be stronger evidence against the success of Romanism, than its actual position, associated with the extraneous assistance afforded to it. With hundreds of thousands of dollars to back it, it has fallen short in the race with the other denominations; while they have wanted the unity of action which sustained it, and were thrown entirely on their native inward resources. Popery cannot flourish in this land, except every thing proper to it should first die out,—liberty, conscience, independence, and prejudice. It is not indigenous; it is an exotic; and though fostered by fond hands, and protected by strong ones, it will languish, fade, and fall.’ Vol. II., pp. 106—108.

This explanation of the apparent increase of Popery in the United States, will apply to its recent progress in England. The constant influx of Irish into some of our large manufacturing towns will partly account for the portentous phenomenon. The rapid numerical increase of the population must also be taken into the calculation, together with the deficiency of the means of popular instruction in those districts in which Romanism has chiefly increased. In some instances, the local spread of Romanism may undoubtedly be traced to the talent, character, and personal labours of the ministers of this specious and Protean superstition, which, adapting itself to every climate, and to every state of manners, can sometimes transform itself into an angel of light; or, what is not less alien from its native character, can assume the seductive meekness of a persecuted faith, invested with the halo of martyrdom. It ill becomes Protestants, however, with the Bible in their hands, to entertain any apprehension as to the revival of Popery, either as a predominant faith or a political

power. It can thrive and spread only in the neglected soil, or the uncleared ground : and its existence reproaches the bad husbandry of those who, waking up from their sleep, and wondering at its having sprung up, cry, "An enemy hath done this." Popery never has stood, never can stand, before the Bible, when the Bible is in the hands of the people. It is a religion most congenial to the human heart, and therefore, in spite of the march of intellect, likely to gain ground where the hearts of men have not been pre-occupied with Scriptural truth. Many have embraced it, ignorant of the Gospel, as a refuge from infidelity,—a resting-place to minds bewildered and wearied with scepticism. It is not of Popery, therefore, that we need be afraid, but of the evils of which it is the indication and effect ; evils connected with that popular ignorance which is caused by the corruption or lethargy of Protestant communities.

From Washington, the Deputation returned to New York, in order to be present at some religious meetings held in the first week of May, and then again repaired to Philadelphia, to attend the sittings of the General Assembly—a 'body next in importance to the Congress itself.' The individuals composing it are the elect of their particular societies : and they come from all parts of the State ; some from the distance of 1000 or 1200 miles. There happened to be a very delicate subject of discussion before the Assembly, occasioned by a complaint and appeal of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia against the Synod of Philadelphia. The conduct of the venerable body under these trying circumstances, our Author witnessed, he says, with 'unfeigned admiration ;' but he has not succeeded in placing the proceedings of the Assembly in a very *imposing* light.

Again returning to New York, the Deputation thence proceeded to Boston and Plymouth in Massachusetts, and afterwards resolved on an excursion to the Canadas. In the route to Burlington, they met a great many Irish, passing from Canada towards Boston in search of employment : many of them were very poor, and suffering much. We pass over the description of the Gulf Road, Waterbury Falls, and Niagara itself, scenes almost as familiar now to the reader as those of an English watering place ; as familiar, we mean, as mere description can make them. On their return to Erie, Dr. Reed and Dr. Matheson separated by agreement ; the latter to visit a relative in Pennsylvania, the former to pursue his route into the Western States. The journey, by coach, from Sandusky to Columbus, afforded the first taste of the comforts of back-country travelling.

'We were to start, I was told, at three o'clock ; I rose, therefore, at two. Soon after I had risen, the bar-agent came, to say that the coach was ready, and would start in ten minutes, as the rain had made

the roads bad. This was rather an ominous as well as untimely intimation. But there was no remedy ; so I made what haste I could in dressing, and went down to take my place. I had no sooner begun to enter the coach, than splash went my foot in mud and water. I exclaimed with surprise. " Soon be dry, Sir," was the reply ; while he withdrew the light, that I might not explore the cause of complaint. The fact was, that the vehicle, like the hotel and the steam-boat, was not water-tight, and the rain had found an entrance. There was, indeed, in this coach, as in most others, a provision in the bottom, of holes, to let off both water and dirt ; but here the dirt had become mud, and thickened about the orifices so as to prevent escape. I found I was the only passenger ; the morning was damp and chilly ; the state of the coach added to the sensation ; and I eagerly looked about for some means of protection. I drew up the wooden windows ; out of five small panes of glass in the sashes, three were broken. I endeavoured to secure the curtains ; two of them had most of the ties broken, and flapped in one's face. There was no help in the coach ; so I looked to myself. I made the best use I could of my garments, and put myself as snugly as I could in the corner of a stage meant to accommodate nine persons. My situation was just then not amongst the most cheerful. I could see nothing ; every where I could feel the wind drawn in upon me ; and as for sounds, I had the calls of the driver, the screeching of the wheels, and the song of the bull-frog, for my entertainment.

' But the worst of my solitary situation was to come. All that had been intimated about bad roads now came upon me. They were not only bad ; they were intolerable : they were rather like a stony ditch than a road. The horses, on the first stages, could only walk most of the way ; we were frequently in to the axle-tree, uncertain whether we should ever get out ; and I had no sooner recovered from a terrible plunge on one side, than there came another in the opposite direction, and confounded all my efforts to preserve a steady sitting. I was literally thrown about like a ball. How gladly should I have kept fixed possession of that corner which I at first occupied with some degree of dissatisfaction ! Let me dismiss the subject of bad roads for this journey, by stating, in illustration, that, with an empty coach and four horses, we were seven hours in going twenty-three miles ; and that we were twenty-eight hours in getting to Columbus, a distance of 110 miles. Yet this line of conveyance was advertised as a " splendid line, equal to any in the States." ' Vol. I., pp. 140—142.

The road lay over what is called the Grand Prairie, where specimens of the genuine log-hut presented the only signs of habitation. Most of the recent settlers along the road seemed to be Germans. The route then plunged into the forest—' in its ' pristine grandeur, tall, magnificent, boundless.'

' I had been somewhat disappointed,' says Dr. Reed, ' in not finding vegetation develop itself in larger forms in New England than with us ; but there was no place for disappointment here. I shall fail, however, to give you the impression it makes on one. Did it

arise from height, or figure, or grouping, it might readily be conveyed to you ; but it arises chiefly from combination. You must see it in all its stages of growth, decay, dissolution, and regeneration ; you must see it pressing on you and overshadowing you by its silent forms, and at other times spreading itself before you, like a natural park ; you must see that all the clearances made by the human hand bear no higher relation to it than does a mountain to the globe ; you must travel in it in solitariness, hour after hour, and day after day, frequently gazing on it with solemn delight, and occasionally casting the eye round in search of some pause, some end, without finding any ; before you can fully understand the impression. Men say, there is nothing in America to give you the sense of antiquity ; and they mean that, as there are no works of art to produce this effect, there can be nothing else. You cannot think that I would depreciate what they mean to extol ; but I hope you will sympathize with me, when I say that I have met with nothing among the most venerable forms of art, which impresses you so thoroughly with the idea of indefinite distance and endless continuity ; of antiquity shrouded in all its mystery of solitude, illimitable and eternal.' *Ib.*, pp. 145, 6.

At Cincinnati, a city 'born in a day and in a wilderness,' not more than thirty-six years old, and yet already possessing a population of 30,000 souls,—the Author had the good fortune to witness the celebration of the national holiday—the anniversary of the declaration of Independence, on the 4th of July.

'The previous evening gave note of preparation by the continued report of fire-arms and small guns. In the early morning, the young men met at the Mechanics' Institute, to enact in miniature what their fathers were to perform on a larger platform. There was an Ode, and the Declaration, and an Oration, and Yankee Doodle.

'The grand fête came afterwards. All the trades were to meet, and go in procession to the Fourth Church, to join in a semi-religious service. The question of precedence, however, here as elsewhere, is found to be of no easy solution ; and some of the companies, in dudgeon on this subject, had refused to take the place assigned to them. There were the butchers, and the carpenters, and the coopers, and few besides. The coopers had a temporary stage, and as they were drawn along they wrought at their business. The butchers, who could not well be so employed, were at liberty to display themselves, and they made the most of it in their way. They were full sixty in number, and were all mounted on good steeds. Some decorations were given to the horse, but many more to the man. It was a sight, to see these men dressed out in purple and fine linen. They had all fine frocks on, some muslin, ornamented by silk sash, and scarf, and rosettes. These, with the usual accompaniments of a band of music, and showy colours waving in the air, with the insignia of the company on them, together with the holiday dresses of the spectators who lined the pathway, composed the exhibition, and gave it a cheerful character.

'As the service was to be at Dr. Beecher's church, he was the chaplain for the occasion. I went with him to secure a good sitting ; but

declined going into the pulpit, or engaging in the exercise, for obvious reasons. The spectacle was singular for a place of worship. There were in the pulpit, the chaplain, the reader of the Declaration, in a fustian jacket, and the orator. On their right and left were seated the ensigns bearing the national colours; and beyond these were resting the flags of the several trades. The companies occupied a large portion of the area, and the band possessed the gallery. The church was quite full.

'A national air was played by the band. An ode was then sung by the choir, sustained by instruments. Dr. Beecher offered prayer. Then came the Declaration. It was read by a tradesman, who looked intelligent; but he read badly, and what was worse, rather bitterly; and in trying to give those terms which hit the Father Land a hard and angry expression, he contorted his face so as to be very ridiculous. Another ode followed. Then the Oration. It was written, but freely delivered. It shewed good parts, manly thinking, and was, on the whole, composed in good taste. There was a reference to the past; a tribute to our common fathers; a eulogy on the constitution; a warning on the danger of disunion, on the one hand, and of consolidation on the other; and, finally, an apostrophe to La Fayette. It was national, but not prejudiced. Dr. Beecher admitted that they seldom, on these occasions, had any thing so good. The Ode, "Glory to God on High," &c., the music by Mozart, followed; and the exercises closed by a short prayer.

'There was in the novelty of this service some gratification; and in its substance I found no cause of offence. For the Declaration, I knew its contents, and prepared my nerves for invectives which were, perhaps, natural at the time they were written; and for my good friend, Mr. Churchman, the reader, I could not smile and be unkind. I confess, to speak seriously, and to give you, as I always seek to do, first impressions, I was somewhat startled at the extraordinary mixture of the secular and the spiritual; and it was a question, whether the tendency was not to make religion worldly, rather than the worldly religious. But when I reflect on the improved character given to these occasions by not abandoning them to the irreligious, I am disposed to think that the ministers and friends of religion are acting a wise part in employing that degree of influence which they can legitimately exert in its favour. Nor, if one could have all one wished, would I desire, as some do, to make the exercises of such a day purely religious. Our true wisdom, in consulting the good of the people, lies, not in excluding their secular concerns and pleasures from religion, but in diffusing religion through the whole of them.'

Ib., pp. 159—162.

Of the 30,000 souls, 4000 are Roman Catholics, mostly Irish, who have brought with them habits not characterized by strict morality. Education, however, is general; there are twenty-one places of religious worship; also libraries, reading societies, a monthly magazine, a scientific quarterly, and 'newspapers without end.' In the State of Ohio, there are already no fewer than 500 ministers.

'The people, in many parts, are so desirous of the means of religion, that they have erected the little church, and have to wait for the pastor. There are, at least, twenty places now in this predicament.

'Some of the new-made towns present a delightfully religious aspect. Of these I might name Columbus, Zansville, and Granville. The first has 3000 persons, and it has three churches and five ministers. The second has 3200 persons, and six churches. And Granville is a small town, which, I believe, is wholly religious. As a settlement, it deserves notice. It was made by a party of ninety persons from New England. On arriving at this spot, they gave themselves to prayer, that they might be directed in choosing their resting-place in the wilderness, and enjoy the blessing of God. At first, they rested with their little ones in the wagons; and the first permanent building they erected, was a church for divine worship. The people retain the simple and pious manners of their fathers. They all go to church, and there are 400 in a state of communion. They give 1000 dollars a year to religious institutions. One plain man, who has never allowed himself the luxury of a set of fire-irons, besides what he does at home, gives 100 dollars a year to religious objects. The present pastor is a devoted man, and very prosperous in the care of his flock.'

Ib., pp. 168, 169.

Dr. Reed descended the Ohio to Louisville, and thence made his way across Kentucky to the eastward. The view from 'The Grand Turn,' in crossing the North Mountain, which stands at the head of the western Valley of Virginia, is described as most magnificent. This point of sight is afforded by an angular projection from the side of the mountain, fenced with a low parapet of stones, to protect you from falling into the precipices which yawn beneath.

'The old jagged pine of the forest, which has braved the tempest age after age, stands up in its clustered grandeur behind you. The lone and ravenous vulture is wheeling over your head in search of prey. The broken rock-work falls away abruptly, some eighty feet immediately beneath your standing, and then runs down in softer lines to the glens below. You look to the left, and there stand, in all their majesty, the everlasting mountains, which you have traversed one by one, and sketching on the blue sky one of the finest outlines you ever beheld. You look to the right, and there lies expanded before you one of the richest and most lovely valleys which this vast country boasts. You look opposite to you, and the great and prominent mountains just break away so as to form the foreground to a yet more distant prospect which is bathed in sun-light and in mist, promising to be equal to any thing you see. Every where, above, around, beneath, was the great, the beautiful, the interminable forest. Nothing impressed me so much as this. The forest had often surrounded and overwhelmed me; I had never before such command of it. In a State so long settled, I had expected to see comparatively little of it; but there it was, spreading itself all around like a dark green ocean,

and on which the spots that were cleared and cultivated only stood out like sunny islets which adorned its bosom.

'On the whole, I had, as you will see, been travelling for three days over most delightful country. For 160 miles you pass through a gallery of pictures most exquisite, most varied, most beautiful. The ride will not suffer in comparison with a run along the finest portions of the Rhine, or our own drive from Shrewsbury to Bangor. It is often indeed compared with Switzerland; but that is foolish; the best scenery in that land is of another and a higher class.'

Ib., pp. 212, 213.

An excellent road has been recently cut over this mountain for forty miles, into Lexington. The real wonder is, our Author justly remarks, not that many of the roads are very bad, but that, under all circumstances, the roads are, in numerous instances, so good. 'Never, in any other country, was there so much done in so short a period.'

At Lexington, Dr. Reed attended worship at 'the African Church'—a poor log-house, built by the hands of the negroes without the town, and placed in a hollow so as to be out of sight, shewing that the worship must be 'by stealth.'

'By the law of the State, no coloured persons are permitted to assemble for worship, unless a white person be present and preside. On this account, the elders of Mr. Douglas's church attend in turn, that the poor people may not lose the privileges they prize. At this time, two whites and two blacks were in the pulpit. One of the blacks, addressing me as their "Strange master," begged that I would take charge of the service. I declined doing so. He gave out Dr. Watts's beautiful Psalm, "Show pity, Lord; O Lord, forgive," &c. They all rose immediately. They had no books, for they could not read; but it was printed on their memory, and they sang it off with freedom and feeling. There is much melody in their voice; and when they enjoy a hymn, there is a raised expression of the face, and an undulating motion of the body, keeping time with the music, which is very touching.

'One of the elders then prayed; and the other followed him, by reading and exposition of Scripture. The passage was on relative and social duties; and I could not avoid observing how it reflected on the conduct of the white, and pleaded for the poor slave. They sang again, "Come, we that love the Lord," and with equal freedom and pleasure. The senior black, who was a preacher amongst them, then offered prayer, and preached. His prayer was humble and devotional. In one portion of it he made an affecting allusion to their wrongs. "Thou knowest," said the good man, with a broken voice, "our state—that it is the meanest—that we are as mean and low as men can be. But we have sinned—we have forfeited all our rights to Thee—and we would submit before Thee to these marks of thy displeasure."

'He took for the text of his sermon those words, "The Spirit

saith, come," &c. He spoke with connexion of our original distance ; of the means provided for our approach and redemption—of the invitation as founded on these—and closed by an earnest and well-sustained appeal to them to act on the gracious Invitation. "Ah, Sirs!" he exclaimed, "do you ask, what it is to come? Oh, it is to know your own weakness; it is to know your own unworthiness; it is to know that you are sinners, and ready to fall into hell for your sins; it is to fly to Jesus Christ as your help and your Saviour; and to cry, 'Lord, save, or I perish.'—To come! Oh, it is to fall down at his feet—to receive him as your new Master—to become new creatures—and to live a new life of faith and obedience," &c.—"O, Sirs!" he continued, "that you would come! How can I persuade you to come! I have seen the good and the evil. I have seen the Christian dying, and I have seen the sinner dying." He spoke of both; and then referred to his own experience—the change religion had made in him—the happiness he had had since he knew it—the desire he had that they should be happy likewise. It was indeed a very earnest and efficient appeal.

'The other man of colour followed with a spontaneous address, meant to sustain the impression. He had some conceit and forwardness in his manner, but much point in what he said. He concluded by noticing what had been doing amongst them lately; and by calling on those who were really concerned to come to the Saviour, to shew it by occupying the anxious seat. They sang again; and, while singing, some forms before the pulpit were cleared, and about twelve persons knelt down at them with great seriousness of manner. There was no confusion, and the act of coming out does perhaps less violence to their feelings, as they are a small body, and are on an equality. One of the elders now took the matter into his hands, and offered prayer. Had he sought to cool down the state of feeling, it could not have been better done. But there was no need for this; for there was no extravagance. They then rose, and sang, and separated. This was the first time I had worshipped with an assembly of slaves; and I shall never forget it. I was certainly by sympathy bound with those who were bound; while I rejoiced, on their account, afresh in that divine truth, which makes us free indeed, which lifts the soul on high, unconscious of a chain.

'Much has been said, and is still said, about the essential inequality of the races. That is a question which must be settled by experiment. Here the experiment was undoubtedly in favour of the blacks. In sense and in feeling, both in prayer and address, they were equal to the whites; and in free and pointed expression much superior. Indeed, I know not that, while I was in America, I listened to a peroration of an address that was superior to the one I have briefly noted to you.' *Ib.*, pp. 218—222.

Dr. Reed made an excursion to visit Weyer's Cave, one of the great natural wonders of the New World, of which he has given an interesting and picturesque description; but he has been anticipated by Mr. Tudor, whose account has been given to our

readers in a former volume of our journal *. Dr. Reed was fortunate enough to see it lighted up; and the effect of between two and three thousand lights on these immense caverns, he says, was only sufficient 'to reveal the objects, without disturbing the 'solemn and sublime obscurity which sleeps on every thing.' The Natural Bridge has been described by Weld, Jefferson, and a host of travellers. Mr. Jefferson, who was proprietor of the Bridge, is said to have visited it once a year †. The infidel university founded by the friend of Paine and Voltaire, at Charlottesville, so far as regards the original design and plan, has proved a memorable and decisive failure. Of its present state, we have the following account.

'Its condition now, I am happy to state, is one of renovation and great promise. All the professors saw and felt the evil which had come over this noble institution, and threatened its destruction; and generally they agreed in the remedy. They adopted a decided and vigorous system of discipline; they honoured the name and institutions of religion; they subscribed at their own expense to support ministers, who should, in turn, conduct public worship within the University, and are now raising a subscription to build a church for this very purpose. The consequence is, that order is restored, and with it public confidence; and youth of respectable and pious connexions are flocking to it from the surrounding States. The professorships are again sought by men of the first attainment; and it is likely to do honour to the expectations of an aspiring people. It is now an experiment in favour of education, still conducted on liberal principles, but with religious sanctions; and if it is steadily sustained, with a fixed regard to this issue, it will succeed.' *Ib.*, p. 256.

The town, comprising a population of about 1000 persons, now contains four places of worship, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Methodist, all erected within the last thirty years. One only regrets that sectarianism should have succeeded to infidelity. Assuredly, for such a population, a single place of worship might have been amply sufficient. The 'splendid and 'classic edifice,' as Messrs. Carey and Lea pompously designate the tasteless pile erected by the Virginian Philosopher, is thus described by the present Writer.

'Externally, the mass of erections ‡ have an imposing and grand

* Eclectic Review. Third Series. Vol. XI., pp. 208—211.

† Modern Traveller. America, Vol. II., p. 136.

‡ A view of this range of buildings will be found in Vol. II. of Hinton's "History and Topography of the United States," which amply supports the description in the text, except that there appears a handsome portico in front of the Rotunda. The whole looks as cold

effect, and they are much assisted to this by the ground which they occupy. With some slight variations since, the plan is wholly Jefferson's. He gave it very deep and close attention; and obtained, by his extraordinary influence, large grants from the State in its favour. But these grants were not well applied, nor these pains skilfully directed. The erection, as a whole, will not endure the touch of rigid criticism. He saw that diversity of line, figure, and position, often contribute to striking effect; but he saw no more. The principal figure is the Rotunda, answering to its name, while every thing else is as square as square can be. It is a very high circular wall, built of red bricks, with a dome on its summit, and with windows perforated round it. It stands naked and alone at the head of the picture. Running down from this, on either hand, are the dwellings for the professors, and the lecture-rooms, forming two sides of a handsome area. They are detached erections, with large columns rising their whole height; and they are united by a colonnade running over the ground story, so that a line of columns, that is meant to be one to the eye, supplies you, at intervals, with pillars fifteen and thirty feet high! The accommodations for the pupils are in the back-ground, and are not meant to appear in the principal scene. Jefferson was proud of his success as an architect; so proud, that, notwithstanding the glare of his red bricks, and of a scorching sun, he would not allow any trees to be planted, lest they should hide the work of his hands! Now that he is gone, the young trees are appearing; and, ungrateful as he was, are beginning to screen his defects, and to give a grace and a keeping to the scene, which gratifies the eye, and harmonizes with the quiet pursuits of the place.' *Ib.*, pp. 257, 258.

Richmond, which, when Weld travelled, contained about 4000 inhabitants, one half of whom were slaves, has now a population of above 15,000 * :—the number of slaves is not mentioned. In 1795, that Traveller says, there was no such thing as a church in the town; but a room in the Capitol, where the house of representatives met, was used for Divine service †. Now, there are thirteen places of worship; yet the slave-market remains!!

'Richmond is still the great mart of slavery; and the interests of morality and religion suffer from this cause. Several persons of the greatest wealth, and therefore of the greatest consideration in the town, are known slave-dealers; and their influence, in addition to the actual traffic, is of course unfavourable. The sale of slaves is as common, and produces as little sensation, as that of cattle. It occurs in the main street, and before the door of the party who is commissioned

and ugly as the philosophy to which it was dedicated. A good view of the Natural Bridge will be found in the same volume.

* The census of 1820 gave 16,060, including 6345 slaves.

† Yet Dr. Reed was shewn an Episcopal Church as 'the mother church of the town, and supposed to be the oldest in Virginia.'

to make the sale. The following is an advertisement of sale, which appeared while I was there:—

“ BY J. & S. COSBY & CO.

“ TRUST SALE.

“ By virtue of a deed of Trust, executed to the subscriber by Hiram Chiles, I shall proceed to sell for cash, at the Auction Store of J. & S. Cosby & Co., on Monday, the 4th of August next, the following property, to wit:—Eliza, Henry, Nancy, Monarchy, Tom, and Edward, and six feather-beds and bedsteads, with furniture.

“ JOSEPH MAYO, *Trustee.*

“ J. & S. COSBY & CO., *Auctioneers.*”

Ib., pp. 261, 262.

We refrain from comment: it is needless.

From Richmond, Dr. Reed hastened to attend a camp-meeting, which he learned was about to be held on the narrow peninsula called the Northern Neck, formed by the course of the Rappahannock. A letter is devoted to the description of this remarkable service, which, whatever may be thought of it in other respects, was not deficient in the picturesque. We make room for a scene by torch-light.

‘ Soon, however, the hoarse notes of the horn vibrated through the air, and summoned me to return. It was the notice for worship at sun-down; and as there is little twilight here, the night-fall comes on suddenly. I hastened to obey the call, and took my place with the brethren on the preachers’ stand. The day had now expired, and with it the scene was entirely changed, as if by magic, and it was certainly very impressive. On the stand were about a dozen ministers, and over their heads were suspended several three-pronged lamps, pouring down their radiance on their heads, and surrounding them with such lights and shadows as Rembrandt would love to copy. Behind the stand were clustered about 300 negroes, who, with their black faces and white dresses thrown into partial lights, were a striking object. Before us was a full-sized congregation collected, more or less revealed, as they happened to be near or distant from the points of illumination. Over the people were suspended from the trees a number of small lamps, which, in the distance, seemed like stars sparkling between their branches. Around the congregation, and within the line of the tents, were placed some elevated tripods, on which large fires of pine-wood were burning, cracking, blazing, and shooting upward, like sacrificial flames, to heaven. They gave amazing power to the picture, by casting a flood of waving light on the objects near to them, and leaving every thing else in comparative obscurity. Still at greater distance, might be seen, in several directions, the dull flickering flame of the now neglected domestic fire; and the sparks emitted from it, together with the fire-fly, rose and shot across the scene like meteors, and then dropt into darkness. Never was darkness made more visible, more present. All the lights that were enkindled appeared only to have this effect; as every where more was hidden than seen. If the

eye sought for the tents, it was only here and there that the dark face of one could be dimly seen; the rest was wrapped in darkness; and if it rose with the trees around you, the fine verdant and vaulted roof which they spread over you was mostly concealed by the mysterious and thickening shadows which dwelt there. Then if you would pierce beyond these limits, there lay around you and over you, and over the unbounded forest that enclosed you, a world of darkness, to which your little illuminated spot was as nothing. I know of no circumstances having more power to strike the imagination and the heart.

Ib., pp. 275—277.

In the services and circumstances of this meeting, there was much that was adapted to work both upon the imagination and the sympathies, but blended with something of the ludicrous; and the scene would have doubtless provoked the mirth or sarcasms of the irreligious observer. If, however, there was a tinge of fanaticism, there was nothing approaching to moral impropriety; and the general effect seems to have been good. Dr. Reed seems to have shared in the high excitement; and his description rises above the usual sober tone of narrative, partaking somewhat too much of the rhetorical. Now and then, in going through the narrative, we have met with a passage which we should have liked to strike out or to temper down, as betraying the same fault,—a very natural one in an eloquent preacher; but Dr. Reed can write so well, that he ought to be the more careful not to fall into the snare of fine-writing. The following remarks on the use of Camp-meetings are highly judicious.

‘In the newly settled parts, where the inhabitants are so few, and are scattered over so large a surface, the ordinary means of worship and instruction can, for a time, hardly be enjoyed; and in this interval, the camp-meeting seems an excellent device for the gathering of the people. Under such circumstances, the very fact of their being brought together, though it were not for religious purposes, would be a decided benefit; and if it should be connected with some expressions of extravagance which we could not approve, it is nevertheless not to be hastily condemned. We cannot conceive the effect of being immured in the deep and solemn forest, month after month, with little or no intercourse with our brethren, nor of the powerful movement of those social sympathies which have been long pent up in the breast, and denied exercise. But we can understand, that it is better that they should be called into exercise occasionally, though violently, than that they should be allowed to pine away and die out; since, in the one case, man would become a barbarous, gloomy, and selfish misanthrope; while, in the other, he would still be kept amongst social beings, and would be in readiness for better things.

‘Much more than this is done where the sympathies are wedded to religious objects; and the good effects bear even more on the future than on the present. Where the camp-meeting is really wanted and really useful, it interests a careless people in their own moral and re-

ligious wants ; and is the natural and general forerunner, as the population thickens, of the school-house, the church, and all the appliances of civil life.' *Ib.*, pp. 297, 298.

Dr. Reed proceeded by Baltimore to Philadelphia, where he was met by his colleague ; and they went on together to Princeton in New Jersey. There they made a short stay, and then embarked at New Brunswick for New York. Finding the cholera still lingering there, they speedily left it for Saratoga, the Cheltenham of the States. Our Author subsequently made an excursion by the great Canal, to Utica, to visit the college established there, the Oneida Institution, and the Trenton Falls. He returned to Albany, by way of Schenectady, where he saw what *is to be* a splendid edifice, called Union College. At the inn, there was a large painting of the intended elevation ; and some gentlemen pointing to it, exclaimed : ' Is not that a splendid ' palace ? ' That is Union College.' On arriving at the spot, our Author was not a little surprised and amused at finding that only *the wings* have hitherto been erected ! On its present scale, however, the Institution is thriving. From Albany, he took the coach to Northampton, in Massachusetts, to be present at ' the ' Commencement ' at Amherst College, which has arisen out of the theological defection of Harvard College *. Northampton is interesting as the scene of President Edwards's labours ; and its burial-ground contains the tomb of Brainerd. From its present pastor, the Rev. S. Stoddard, Dr. Reed obtained an interesting sketch of its religious history, and of the various ' revivals ' which have taken place in the church over which Jonathan Edwards once presided : this document is given entire. We have also presented to us, an account, drawn up by Mr. Abbott, of a remarkable revival at Amherst College in 1827. The subject of Revivals is treated at considerable length in the first three letters of the second volume ; but we must refrain from entering upon the very delicate discussion, having more than once adverted to the topic †.

From Northampton, Dr. Reed proceeded to join his colleague at Meredith, in order to attend an association of the congregational churches of New Hampshire. The view from the hills above this picturesque little village, commanding eight or nine lovely lakes, is described as the finest thing which the Author had seen in New England. The new town of Lowell, in Massachusetts, at which he passed a Sabbath, claims notice as affording at once a curious instance of the rapid growth of towns in America, and a characteristic specimen of American manners.

* See Mod. Trav. America, Vol. I. pp. 316—322.

† See Ec. Rev. 3d Ser. Vol. IX. pp. 287—298. Also, Vol. I. p. 537, *et seq.*

Lowell is situated at the confluence of the Concord and Merrimack rivers. It is one of the largest manufacturing towns in the whole Union, and supplies one of the most remarkable instances of rapidity in growth. Twenty years ago this spot was a wilderness. Then a small factory was built, which cost only 3000 dollars. There are now more than twenty large mills, five stories high, with 3000 looms and 8500 spindles, upwards of 5000 operatives, and a capital exceeding six millions and a half of dollars. The total population is 13,000. The water-power is very fine, and skilfully applied by means of reservoirs and canals; it is capable of working fifty more mills. The advantage to the comfort and appearance of the town in the possession of this power is very great, as it allows a vast business to go forward without the nuisance of universal smoke. This class of objects is rare in this country, though common in ours, and I was interested in a new course of observation.

It might be expected, in this case, as in every similar one, that many fruitful causes of evil would come into action; but it was pleasing to find a corrective and antagonist power brought universally and successfully to act against them. Especially there is one feature in the state of this community that is peculiar and hazardous. There are not less than 4000 young women attached to the mills, who have been drawn here by the hope of reward, abstracted from all the safeguards of their families, and transferred suddenly from the utmost retirement to promiscuous society. They are mostly the daughters of farmers, and have laudable intentions in coming. The family has every thing but ready money, and this is a method of getting it. Many of them are well educated; they might teach at school; but they prefer this employ, as it gives them better remuneration. Others thirst for education; they come for six months, and then disappear; and again they come, and again they disappear. In the one instance, they are procuring the costs of education, and in the other, education itself. They bring with them a sense of independence and rectitude, and this disposes them to adopt means which contribute greatly to their preservation. Instances of sad defection and vice will of course occur, but they are remarkably "few and far between." The steady girls who work in a mill, band together as a sort of a club, and keep up a sense of honour through the establishment. If any one is suspected of bad conduct, she is reprimanded and suspended; and if bad conduct is proved against her, she is reported to the managing party, and a petition is presented for her removal. In an unquestionable case, they would leave the mill if the prayer of the petition was refused.

In many cases where the evils are thus escaped, great good arises to the individual. Placed in new circumstances, where they are called to act for themselves for the first time, great energy, and sometimes great elevation of moral character, are elicited. The means of religion, too, are supplied to them with greater advantage. Many are brought under its influence, and those who are, are furnished with opportunities for benevolent and religious services, which they could not have had in their original and isolated circumstances. There are, of this number of young women, for instance, about 1000 who are united to

Christian churches, and about the same number who are in regular attendance on religious means.

'It is, however, generally admitted, that whatever may be the advantages, these occupations mostly disqualify them for the quiet duties and cares of domestic life. In fact, this must, in a measure, be the effect, for there is nothing to exercise the domestic virtues; and it is likely that many may gain a taste for society, and appearance, and independent action, which they may not afterwards overcome. The dress, indeed, of the whole body, when not employed in the mill, was remarkable. It was not amiss, usually, in itself; but it was above their state and occupation. One was surprised to see them appear in silks, with scarfs, veils, and parasols.

'The care which is shown to their welfare and safety by the heads of the factories, is also very worthy of praise. Boarding-houses are built for them by the corporations, or companies. Persons of good character are put into them, and the rate of payment is determined for them. These housekeepers are tenants-at-will; rules are laid down for their conduct, and transgression is followed by expulsion. They give and receive certificates of character with the young women.

'The community at large are alive to the possible evils of their situation, and watch and labour to counteract them. Because Temperance here has to encounter strong temptation, it has taken a most decided form. There is not only the usual Temperance Society; in addition to it is "The Total Abstinence Society," whose pledge extends to "wine, cordials, and strong beer." This, too, is the favourite society; it has 1900 members. I do not now judge the principle on which it acts: of course its influence must be great in promoting the sobriety of the town. There is also a considerable confederation here, under the denomination of "The Lyceum." It is a society enrolled for moral and literary purposes. There are reading-rooms, books, and weekly lectures, to meet the one branch; and for the preservation of the public morals, there are five committees appointed, each composed of not less than five members. Their duty is to take cognizance of five vices—intemperance, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, gaming, and lewdness. They visit, examine, and confer confidentially for this purpose, and adopt such means as their discretion may suggest. The lectures are made to assist this object.'

* * * * *

'Mr. Blanchard's is the church of which much has been said in America, and recently even across the Atlantic, relative to the disuse of wine at the Lord's table. It has mostly been said in mistake or exaggeration. The fact is, that there is in this community an "Abstinence Society;" and the matter has been discussed; but the utmost that was done, was to resolve, "that no wine should be used which had alcohol in it." In practice, the effect has been to use a harmless preparation, which they call wine, and with which the most scrupulous are satisfied. To my taste, it was like one of our British wines diluted with water. I have confidence in the excellent pastor, that he would not break up the peace of a society by such a question, or establish terms of communion which Christ has not enforced.

'The town has an animated and pleasant appearance. Every where the signs of improvement are abundant. The streets were at first lined with wood cabins; these are quickly vanishing before the smart and lofty red brick house and shop; and where they still linger, they offer to the eye a singular contrast. I visited the principal factories. They are very like our own; but have a cleaner aspect, from the absence of smoke. Their machinery looks heavier than ours, from the circumstance of wood being employed instead of iron for the stronger parts. Many persons are found here from the mother land; and the agents, or foremen, are mostly Scotch or English.' *Ib.* pp. 415—422.

Andover was the next place to which the immediate object of the Deputation invited them. Its theological institution is one of the most interesting in the United States, and bears a high reputation, in consequence of the distinguished attainments of its Professors. Dr. R. was present, with his colleague, at the commencement; and he speaks of the days he passed here as among the most delightful which he spent in the United States. Thence pursuing his journey into Maine, he visited Salem, one of the oldest towns in New England; Newbury-port, where, in one of the churches, sleep the remains of George Whitfield; Portsmouth; and Portland, the scene of Payson's fervent ministry. The honours to which the relics of Whitfield are exposed, are similar to those which the bones of Duke Humphrey receive at the hands of the curious who visit St. Alban's Abbey.

'We descended to the vault. There were three coffins before us. Two pastors of the church lay on either side; and the remains of Whitfield in the centre. The cover was slipt aside, and they lay beneath my eye. I had before stood in his pulpits, seen his books, his rings, and chairs, but never before had I looked on part of his very self. The skull, which is perfectly clean and fair, I received, as is the custom, into my hand. I could say nothing, but thought and feeling were busy.' Vol. I., p. 436.

A craniologist would, we presume, have found something to say about the skull; but we must confess that this making a shew of a good man's bones strikes us as in very bad taste,—comporting better with the Romish superstition for saintly relics, than with Protestant notions, and savouring less of genuine Christian sentiment than of the morality of the grave-digger. Mr. Bartlett, one of the munificent founders of the Andover Institution, has erected, in one angle of the church at Newbury-port, a 'splendid monument' to Whitfield's memory, prepared in Italy. As the cenotaph is not particularly described, we are at a loss to know whether it bears any marks of Italian art. The inscription is from the pen of the late Dr. Porter.

A steam-boat conveyed our Author from Portland to Boston, which claims to be considered as the literary capital of the United

States, as it is the mother city of the Union. Its university is the oldest in the States, possessing a library of 40,000 volumes; and a law-school has recently been added to the establishment. About two miles from Boston is Roxbury, where Eliot, the missionary, once laboured as a pastor. Dr. Reed was invited to assist at a very interesting service at this place,—the formation of an orthodox congregational church, and the ordination of Mr. Jacob Abbott ‘as an evangelist,’ special reasons inducing him not to assume the relation of pastor.

From Boston, after a stay of some days, the Deputation proceeded to Hartford and New Haven. The latter is one of the handsomest cities in the States, and Yale College is the rival of Harvard University in literary respectability, while it is honourably distinguished from it by its orthodox character. It has a library of more than 24,000 volumes, and a mineral cabinet surpassed by few in Europe.

Once more returning to New York, the two Delegates had the gratification of receiving, in a large and respectable meeting, a farewell address from the Clerk to the General Assembly, and other expressions of respect and fraternal union. The first two resolutions passed at this meeting deserve to be transcribed. They were moved by the Rev. Mr. Patton, Dr. Miller, of Princeton, Mr. Abeel, the missionary to China, and Dr. Ely, of Philadelphia.

‘That the intercourse between the churches in Great Britain and the United States, so auspiciously begun in the present year, is, in the judgement of this meeting, of high importance to the interests of vital piety in both countries.’

‘That, in the judgement of this meeting, peculiar obligations rest upon the churches of Great Britain and America, to *unite* their efforts for the conversion of the world.’

Insensible and ungrateful must the Deputation have been, not to feel deeply affected with the marks of cordial regard and respectful attention which they everywhere received in their visit to the American churches; and we feel warranted to infer that they have left behind them an impression favourable to that more intimate union and intercourse between the two countries, which it was the main object of their appointment to promote.

We must now glance at Dr. Matheson's separate narrative of his visit to Canada and Pennsylvania.

Leaving Boston on the 5th of June, Dr. Matheson proceeded to Burlington, on Lake Champlain, and, embarking in a steamboat, reached St. John's, in Lower Canada, on the morning of the 8th. The frontier town is a poor, uncomfortable place; and the impression produced on entering on the British territory, is any thing but pleasing. The Sabbath which the Author passed here, exhibited a melancholy contrast, in the state of public man-

ners, to those which he had hitherto spent in the New World. 'Much of this Sabbath profanation', he remarks, 'may of course be attributed to French manners and Roman Catholic influence; but it indicates a gloomy state of moral desolation'. In the road to La Prairie, next day, our Author met great numbers of Irish proceeding to different parts of the United States; and on reaching that town, he found that the steam ferry-boat had just arrived from Montreal with 300 Irish emigrants!

'Seldom', he says, 'have I witnessed such a scene of confusion, or such a motley company. Every variety of age, of appearance, and of character, was to be seen. Some were encumbered with boxes and trunks, others seemed to possess nothing but the rags which covered them. A few of those who had luggage, had obtained vehicles for conveying it; and in these they had already placed it, together with their wives and little ones. They were hastening onwards, not knowing what might await them in a land of strangers; while others, uniting in little bands, were slowly following on foot. A long voyage and its privations, had given an appearance of wretchedness to many of the emigrants. But while the looks of some bespoke distress, and fear, and anxiety, others looked perfectly unconcerned and reckless of consequences. In this way tens of thousands of these destitute beings are thrown into the midst of American society. What nation could receive such numbers of wretched, and too often demoralized, individuals, without sustaining deep injury? That the United States have been morally injured by this cause, I have no doubt. Their bearing up against this evil as they have done, proves the elasticity of their national character, and the powerful influence of religious habits. I very much question whether, in our larger towns, we have succeeded so well in restraining the evil consequences of Irish and Roman Catholic emigration.'—Vol. II. pp. 308, 309.

It affords matter for surprise, that, hitherto, the danger to their free institutions arising from the influx of settlers of this character, should have been apparently overlooked by American politicians. The evil is beginning, however, to force itself upon public attention; and in the last number of the *North American Review*, we find an article devoted to the subject. 'We have been', the Writer admits, on the part of his countrymen, 'too keenly engrossed by the task of counting our rapidly multiplying millions, properly and adequately to appreciate the influence of those multitudes which the old world is daily pouring upon our coasts, on our political institutions, or our social character. We have looked exclusively to the bright vision of future power and predominance; and it is only when some overburdened parish has disengaged in our sea-ports its occasional cargo of vice and pauperism, that we have been roused to ask ourselves the question, whether every addition to our numbers be an addition to our strength; and whether self-preservation, if not philanthropy, do not call our attention to the wants, the character, and the

'destination of the foreign emigrant. . . . If our social character be liable to be infected by the vices and misery of older countries, from a too rapid absorption of their redundant population, or our political institutions be exposed to overthrow and corruption by the undue accession of unassimilating elements, how can it be other than wise and humane to guard against a state of things which must prove ultimately so unfriendly to the best and perhaps last hope of the human family?'

With respect to the amount of this influx, the Writer states, that, during the first ten years of the present century, it was computed at from 4000 to 6000 *per annum*. From 1812 to 1821, it exhibits an average of nearly 8000, 'exclusive of those who may have found their way through the Canadas into the United States.' In 1830, the immigration had risen to upwards of 20,000; since which time, there has been so extraordinary a progression, that, according to the Reviewer's computation, not fewer than 100,000 persons annually seek, in the United States, a refuge from the destitutions and adversities of the Eastern Continent. Since the commencement of the century, about 600,000 foreigners have found their way into the States; and they now constitute nearly one-twentieth of the actual population!

The *immigrants* (to use a convenient Americanism) may be generally divided into three classes—the English, the Irish, and the Germans and other natives of the Continent. The German carries with him, for the most part, into the interior settlements of the country, the same patient and laborious habits that distinguish him in his native land. Most of the Germans and Swiss prefer seeking a more remote settlement in the West, where they form detached associations, as at Vevay and Harmony, and long retain their national peculiarities. The Englishman, by an easy transition, passes into the bosom of American society. The Irish are the most inclined to linger about the cities by which they have been first received, and into the vices and follies of which they are most liable to be betrayed by the ardour of their temperament and the recklessness of their habits. It is the Irishman, therefore, the American Reviewer remarks, who presents the most anxious and perplexing subject of contemplation to the philanthropist and the statesman. The destitution and demoralization of Ireland are thus not only operating, by a just retribution, as a scourge to England, the author of her wrongs, but are extending their baleful effects to the cities of the Western Continent! The State of New York has recently passed a law, making it a misdemeanour for any master of a vessel to bring, knowingly, into the State, as a passenger, any convict from a foreign country. The Reviewer would have the provisions of the law extended to the

* North American Review, No. lxxxvii, April 1835, pp. 458, 9.

importation of paupers, in order to arrest a practice which threatens to inundate the American sea-ports with 'a flood of foreign pauperism'. Having thus 'taken measures to bar the oppressive influx of convicts and mendicants of every description, we should be in a situation', adds the Writer, 'to employ such measures as might suggest themselves for the relief of the immense body of destitute emigrants to whom our ports and our hospitality would be still open.'

The suggestions of the Reviewer deserve the attention not only of his countrymen, but also of the British Government and of British philanthropists; the moral welfare of our own colonies, as well as considerations of humanity, demanding that some plan should be adopted in order to check the exportation of helpless paupers to distant shores, without making any provision to secure their being the better in circumstances, or to prevent their not becoming the worse in character, by the change.

From Montreal, Dr. Matheson descended the mighty St. Lawrence to Quebec, with a view to obtain information respecting the state of religion in the Lower Province. The report which he gives is truly deplorable. The population of Lower Canada is now estimated at 600,000; of whom 460,000 are Roman Catholics, having 150 priests, and 140,000 Protestants, having about 68 ministers. The above enumeration gives less than one minister to every two thousand souls.

'But this calculation', says Dr. Matheson, 'by no means affords a correct view of the real state of the Colony. More than one-half of the whole number of preachers is to be found in the cities and towns. In such places, the proportion may be more than one minister for two thousand Protestants, but this leaves a still smaller number for the townships newly settled. When it is also considered that the population of these districts is widely scattered, and that, in addition to this, the roads are exceedingly imperfect, we cannot but perceive that, with such a small number of preachers, the religious destitution of the people must be very great.' Vol. ii. p. 344.

Indeed, there is one township which has been settled five years, where no sermon has yet been preached; and in another, which has been settled a much longer time, there has been no preaching for seven years! In short, there is hardly one-sixth of the supply that should be provided for the religious instruction of the scattered Protestant population, to say nothing of the non-efficiency of many of the ministers who are supported by the Government grant. Inadequate, however, as are the means of instruction among the Protestants, the state of things among the Roman Catholics, who form the bulk of the population, is still worse.

'The great object of their priests is, to retain them in the errors

and superstitions of Popery. The peasantry are in general a quiet and contented race ; but grossly ignorant, not only of the great doctrines of Christianity, but even of the first rudiments of knowledge, very few of them being able to read. They are entirely under the spiritual domination of man, blindly attached to the worst corruptions of Christianity. No ray of scriptural light has yet penetrated the thick darkness that surrounds that part of the population. The Scriptures are excluded, and Protestant teachers are not allowed to instruct the ignorant, if the priests can prevent it ; and their power over the minds of the people is almost omnipotent. Some years ago a French Protestant, acting as a missionary under the patronage of the Methodist denomination, made an attempt to instruct them ; but he was repulsed in such a manner, by the efforts of the priests, that he did not remain long among them.' *Ib.*, pp. 346, 347.

Upper Canada contains about 320,000 inhabitants, of whom very few are Roman Catholics. There are about 160 ministers of different Protestant denominations, viz., forty Episcopalian, fifty Methodist, thirty-four Presbyterian, thirty Baptist, and six Congregational. This would give, on the average, one minister to 2000 souls ; but, as in the Lower Province, they are very unequally distributed, at least one-half being fixed in the towns. The population is rapidly increasing by emigration, and no steps have been taken to provide the requisite supply of additional teachers. Dr. Matheson shews that the duty of furnishing the Colonies with suitable religious instruction, must at present devolve upon the Christian Church in this country ; and he eloquently pleads the strong claim which their spiritual necessities have upon all the evangelical denominations of Britain.

' Persons from all these communities of Christians have settled in these provinces. They have gone from the congregations of Episcopalians, the societies of Methodists, the churches of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. A necessity was laid upon them to seek support for their rising families. They would gladly have remained at home. No discontent with the civil constitution of their country drove them away. It appeared to be the path of duty ; and trying as it was to leave the loved associations of early life and of matured affection, yet they submitted to the providential arrangement, and went. They have left behind them relatives, friends, and neighbours. They have forsaken external privileges and religious enjoyments, and they and their children are in danger of suffering for lack of knowledge. Look at these claims of country and kindred, of our common humanity, and of Christian duty, and say if the present condition of the Canadas is not a reproach to the Christians of Great Britain.' *Ib.*, p. 366.

There is a touching account of an interview which Dr. Matheson had with a family of settlers whom he had known in England ;—the aged mother, a minister's daughter, vented her feelings of deep maternal solicitude on account of her children, grow-

ing up without religious ordinances, without a sanctuary. Fixing her streaming eyes on the welcomed visiter, she exclaimed with the most moving earnestness: 'Oh! if the Christians of England only knew our situation, and that of thousands around us, they would not rest satisfied till they sent men of God to preach the Gospel to us. If they only knew a mother's grief at seeing her children growing up without the means of grace, would they not feel for us? Would they not send us help? Do tell them of our case, and that of many around us, who would *willingly attend the preaching of good men of any denomination.*' Her parting words were: 'Do not forget us: do tell the good people at home, how much we need their sympathy and their prayers.' Such an appeal speaks more loudly than any argument. It is a voice crying across the ocean, 'Come over and help us'; to disregard which were disobedience to Heaven.

Having returned to Montreal, Drs. M. and R. ascended the river to Brookville, and thence proceeded to Kingston, Coburgh, and Toronto. The latter is likely to become the largest and most influential city in either province, as it forms the centre to an immense extent of country on the east, west, and north. Five hundred new houses were built in 1833, most of them substantial brick buildings. The population is now about 12,000, and every year is adding to it by thousands. There are six places of worship, capable of containing about 5000 people; but not one half of that number attend on public worship!

About twenty miles from Toronto, on Credit river, is a settlement of Chippeway Christians, where Peter Jones, who visited England a few years ago, is now stationed. By this intelligent native missionary, Dr. Matheson was welcomed in the kindest manner. 'He appears,' says our Author, 'to be a humble, modest man; and considering the attentions paid him in England, it is a matter of congratulation, that he has hitherto worn well, and seems disposed to continue his labours among his countrymen.' The visit to this settlement will be read with interest. The success of the experiment illustrates the truth of the axiom, that Christianity must *precede* civilization.

From Toronto, Dr. Matheson's route was Niagara, Erie, Buffalo, Geneva, Elmira, Athens (!) and Orwell, where he found his relative occupying a very interesting field of pastoral labour in the midst of an intelligent and pious, though unpolished people. Here he passed two Sabbaths, and then set off on his return to Pittsburgh. His route traversed the highlands of Pennsylvania, lying through the Valley of Wyoming, and over much picturesque country, to Ebensburg, where a Welsh colony have brought with them from their own mountains and valleys the institutions of religion.

'Many delightful associations were awakened in my mind, by find-

ing these settlers more than four thousand miles from their native hills, and yet not moved away from the hope of the Gospel, which they had heard in their youth. They had the additional privilege of hearing it in the language which, above all other languages, is sweet to them, so that the very sound might be called a joyful sound in their ears.'

Our Author had no sooner disclosed his name, than the worthy pastor, testifying his joy at seeing 'a brother from the old 'country,' insisted on his preaching. The newspapers, which travel even across these mountains, had made known the errand of the Deputation; and it was urged, that, as they were Welsh, and also Congregationalists, it would be hard, if one of the delegates from the Congregational Union of England and Wales should be there and not address them. 'It was the first time, 'too, since the settlement, thirty-seven years ago, that an English minister had been in their town.' The appeal, seconded as it was by several Baptist ministers, was irresistible. A brief history of this settlement, furnished by the pastor, is given in the Appendix. It appears prosperous, and under the influence of religion.

At Pittsburgh, Dr. M. met with the Board of Directors of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, which, though it has been only two years in existence, has already an increase of 17,000 dollars. 'There is something,' he remarks, 'almost romantic in 'its history.'

'It is only about fifty years since the first preacher passed over the Alleghany Mountains, into the Valley of the Mississippi. This was a clergyman, the Rev. Dr. M'Millan. There were few inhabitants then; and for some time he laboured almost alone. Two or three years ago, this venerable and apostolic man visited the churches which he was instrumental in planting. And, in the Synod of Pittsburgh, there are now twenty-three thousand communicants, and about a hundred thousand hearers of the gospel, besides Christian churches of other denominations. But not only has this good been effected for the people themselves. In this infant town they have begun to feel for, and to assist the heathen. How surprising that, from this distant region, messengers of peace should be sent forth to Northern India, Western Africa, and even to Jerusalem itself. The two former countries already have devoted and well-trained missionaries from this Society; and arrangements are now making to establish missions in Palestine, in Asia Minor, and in China. We have been told of the surprise expressed by certain custom-house officers in one of the European ports, at finding a ship's papers dated Pittsburgh. No less surprising will it be to the Christian traveller, to meet, amidst the ruins of the Seven Churches, or the mountains of Judea, missionaries sent from a spot in the other hemisphere, perhaps unknown to him even by name, and itself but recently blessed with gospel light. One of the missionaries in Northern India, from some of his letters which I have read, appears to be a peculiarly devoted and noble-minded man.

He is a son of the Honourable Walter Lowrie, clerk to the Senate of the United States, at Washington. After finishing his studies at college, he offered his services to the Western Missionary Society. He left his father's house, the comforts, and the distinction which he possessed at home, for the cause of Christ; and his communications breathe the spirit of him who counted it an honour to be the Apostle of the Gentiles.' Vol. II. pp. 432, 433.

From Pittsburgh, our Author crossed the Alleghanies to Philadelphia. Two concluding letters contain a general view of the religious condition and statistics of Pennsylvania, which will be found highly valuable; but we have already much exceeded our intended limits, and must therefore resist the temptation to make any further extract or comment.

For the same reason, we must refrain from giving any abstract of Dr. Reed's extended remarks upon the several Religious Denominations, Religious Economy, Religious Institutions, Education, Slavery, National Characteristics, &c., which occupy letters xxix. to xlv. We shall have occasion hereafter to make use of the information they comprise, in noticing other works upon the United States, which have just issued from the press. The Deputation, it will be observed, did not proceed further South than Washington, and saw little of the Southern States, where the curse of slavery is preying on the vitals and threatening the integrity of the Republic. The gratifying account they have brought home, is therefore liable to large and melancholy deductions, considered as a picture of the American States, which differ scarcely less widely than England does from Australia and Jamaica. So far as regards, however, those parts which they visited, the result of their observation is highly honourable to the American people; shewing that a spirit of improvement has gone forth, which bids fair to rival, in its moral operation, the rapid development of their physical and political energies. 'Blot out England and America from the map of the world,' remarks Dr. Reed, 'and you destroy all those great institutions which, almost exclusively, promise the world's renovation.' It is in this light, as the great coadjutrix of England in her high evangelical function and commission, that America seems bound to us in the closest relation. 'Here, then, is the province of these two countries,' which, though parted by the breadth of the vast Atlantic, are, for this purpose, and in this great enterprise, one. Let Britain and America unite in energetic co-operation for the conversion of the world, and the day is not distant when the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord. Then "God, even our own God, shall bless us, and all the ends of the earth shall fear Him."

- Art. II. 1. *Topography of Thebes, and General View of Egypt.* Being a short Account of the Principal Objects worthy of notice in the Valley of the Nile, to the Second Cataract and Wadde Samneh, with the Fyoom, Oases, and Eastern Desert, from Sooez to Berenice ; with Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, and the Productions of the Country, &c. &c. By J. G. Wilkinson, Esq. 8vo, pp. xxxv. 595. Plates. London, 1835.
2. *Lettres écrites d'Egypt et de Nubie . . .* Letters written from Egypt and Nubia, in 1828 and 1829, by Champollion the younger. 8vo, pp. xv. 472. Paris, 1833.
3. *Examen Critique* A Critical Examination of the Labours of the late M. Champollion, on the Hieroglyphic Character. By Mr. J. Klaproth, 8vo, pp. 175. Paris, 1832.

WE have placed these titles together at the head of the present Article, partly on account of their common subject, but chiefly because they will supply the text for a few observations on the actual state of a question which has at all times interested the investigator of antiquity ; and which has, within the last twenty years, acquired an unexpected importance, from the nature and magnitude of the discoveries that have been made, or assumed to have been made, by the eminent scholars engaged in its solution.

The Hieroglyphic inscriptions of Ancient Egypt have, for ages, stimulated the curiosity, vulgar or enlightened, of European students ; and multiplied have been the speculations broached by enigmatizing geniuses ; none of them, however, throwing any real light on the subject, but leaving it in the obscurity of admitted ignorance, or consigning it to the deeper darkness of fanciful explanation. * There were those who, with Kircher and Palin, professed to clear up every mystery ; and there were others, more modest in their ignorance, who were content to believe, with the Greeks and Romans of old, that all art and all science had been derived from Egypt, and that beneath the mystic characters on its public monuments and funeral scrolls, were hidden the history and the elements of all human knowledge,—‘ a summary ’, in the words of Dr. Young, ‘ of the ‘ most important mysteries of nature, and of the most sublime ‘ inventions of man : but that the interpretation of these characters ‘ had been so studiously concealed by the priests from the know- ‘ ledge of the vulgar, and had indeed been so imperfectly under- ‘ stood by themselves, that it was wholly lost and forgotten in the ‘ days of the later Roman emperors.’ Within our own time, however, a new and more successful effort has been made to obtain distinct notions on this exciting subject ; and our readers

will have found, in our own pages, sufficient indications of the nature and extent of Hieroglyphical interpretation. But before we proceed to the considerations of which we have just intimated the general scope, it may be expedient to put our readers in possession of whatever may be required, in the way of criticism and analysis, by the works now before us: the greater portion of what may suggest itself in the shape of discussion, will naturally connect itself with the last upon the list.

Mr. Wilkinson's volume contains exceedingly valuable materials, but put together in an unworkmanlike manner. His arrangement is by no means clear; his transitions are ill-managed; and there is an awkwardness about his style, which is not easily defined, though it makes itself sensibly felt. As a body of *adversaria*, from the note-book of a long sojourner and shrewd examiner, the work is inestimable; and were we setting forth on a steam-trip to the dominions of Mohammed Ali, we should assign to it the first place in our travelling library: but, as a reading book, it is singularly intractable, and we have been constrained to make it the text of our morning studies, while we have taken the lively letters of Champollion for our after-dinner's anti-soporific. The Topography of Thebes, with the description of its marvellous remains, occupies the first portion of Mr. W.'s book, and makes current reference to a separately published 'Survey of Thebes and the Pyramids', which we have not yet had an opportunity of seeing. The examination appears to have been conducted with skill and the utmost care. Nothing of any importance escaped a close inspection; and much learning, both classical and hieroglyphic, is brought to bear effectively on the illustration of antiquity. In this, however, we cannot undertake to accompany him. Minute details are little susceptible of advantageous abstract; and the general circumstances of the locality, with the glorious wreck that gives interest to every original communication on the subject, are too familiar to require from us either description or comment. But there is one fact on which, Mr. Wilkinson, unlike the greater part of those who have essayed to explain it, seems to have thrown some light, and we shall devote a small space to the exhibition of his suggestions.

The celebrated statue of Memnon, with its audible response to the touch of the sun's morning ray, is dismissed, somewhat uncereemoniously, by M. Champollion, with a '*Tout cela est bien moderne,*' applied to the Greek and Latin inscriptions that record the names and speculations of the early risers who had heard or not heard the mysterious sound. Mr. Wilkinson took more pains, and evidently imagines himself, whether justly or not we cannot undertake to decide, to have solved the difficulty. He has ascertained that there is, in the top of the statue, a stone

which, when struck, gives forth a *metallic* sound ; and this, connected with the previous discovery of a large square recess in the back of the statue, gives him the desired solution.

‘ Mr. Burton and I first remarked the metallic sound of this stone in 1824, and conjectured that it might have been used to deceive the Roman visitors ; but the nature of the sound, which did not agree with the accounts given by ancient authors, seemed to present an insuperable objection. In a subsequent visit to Thebes, in 1830, on again examining the statue and its inscriptions, I found that one Ballilla had compared it to the striking of brass ; and feeling convinced that this authority was more decisive than the vague accounts of those writers who had never heard it, I determined on posting some peasants below, and ascending myself to the top of the statue, with a view of hearing from them the impression made by the sound. Having struck the sonorous block with a small hammer, I inquired what they heard, and their answer, “Ente betidrob e’nahás”, “you are striking brass,” convinced me that the sound was the same that deceived the Romans, and led Strabo to observe that it appeared to him as the effect of a slight *blow*.’

It has been stated, that this statue and its neighbour were originally carved out of a single block of breccia, and that the restorations made subsequently to its first fracture, consisted of thirteen blocks of ‘*gneis*’. Mr. W. describes the first as a ‘coarse hard gritstone, spotted with numerous chalcedonies, and here and there coloured with black and red oxide of iron’; and the second as ‘sandstone’. ‘Who shall decide’? A middling mineralogist on the spot would settle the matter in a moment: in fact, there does not seem to be any great difficulty in the way of settling the matter, even without other authority than these two conflicting statements.

The tombs, the mighty ruins of Luq’sor and Karnak, and the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians, having been adequately described; the journey from Alexandria to Thebes, with the stupendous relics of antique skill and labour which present themselves to the traveller on that interesting route, occupies the succeeding section. Concerning the Pyramids, much valuable illustration occurs, though mixed with questionable matter. Mr. Wilkinson is bent on securing for his favoured race, the invention of the arch; and, as we have no special theory of our own to support, we can have no objection to the fact, if the evidence be but trustworthy. But Mr. Wilkinson is so eager and so decisive in assertion, and at the same time so utterly unsatisfactory in explanation, that, unless we are prepared to adopt the greatest improbabilities on the faith of a bald affirmation, we are constrained to suspend our assent to his statements. He tells us of a tomb with a ‘crude brick roof and niche’, consecrated to the first Amunoph, which proves ‘the existence of the arch at the remote pe-

'riod of 1540 B.C.' He also mentions in fierce italic, as '*vaulted*', a 'crude brick pyramid of an early epoch'; but what he means by 'vaulted', we cannot precisely say, nor are we aware that he gives an explanation of the term in any part of the volume: if he intends it to designate the arch in its scientific construction, he should have been less vague and more explanatory in his description. In the chapter on 'the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians', he states, that the roofs of their buildings, though in some cases 'supported by rafters of palm and other wood, an imitation of which may be seen in a grotto cut in a scarp'd rock behind the second pyramid of Geezeh', yet, were generally 'formed of rude brick vaults', attesting the existence of the arch 'from the earliest times into which Egyptian sculpture has given us an insight'. Elsewhere it is affirmed, that the 'chambers of the brick pyramids at Thebes are vaulted'; and respecting the pyramids of 'crude brick' at Dashoor, we have the summary intimation, that *we can scarcely suppose* their roofs to have been 'supported in any other way'. All this, we admit, looks very formidable in type, but we should like to see it in plan and section. We should feel it a gratification, to be told about voussoirs, and springings, and the technical *et-cetera* of the genuine arch, inasmuch as we have not forgotten the learned architect who cited in support of the same system, the arch of Gournou, which consists merely of overlapping horizontals, capped, not key-stoned. Now we really regret this absence of precision on the part of Mr. Wilkinson, because we cannot help feeling that, however facts may turn out, probabilities are against him. It is hardly credible,—and the argument acquires tenfold strength when applied to the accomplished architects of Greece,—that a nation skilled in the science of construction, and possessed of its most powerful element, should neglect its use in those gigantic erections where it would have so effectually aided their design, and lessened their difficulties and their labour. Why, if the arch were familiar to the Egyptian builders, should it be confined to domestic structures and obscure brick pyramids?—Mr. Wilkinson says, because 'wood was scarce.' True, but stone was plenty; and if wood was deficient on the soil of Egypt, the Nile, its branches, its canals, and its two seas, were there.

Nor is he less persevering in his determination to derive from an eastern or 'Saracenic' origin, the pointed arch. 'Absolute Gothic', he says, '*began* in England about 1300'; forgetting, in his haste, that Salisbury Cathedral was begun so early as 1220, and finished in 1260. And of this 'absolute Gothic', he goes on to affirm peremptorily and without the slightest qualification, that 'it was, in fact, an imitation of Saracenic architecture. Gothic is almost as unpardonable a misnomer as *English*, for the pointed Saracenic arch, which must have been introduced into

'England by the crusaders'. We are really sorry that Mr. Wilkinson should have treated these interesting points in this unbusiness-like way, since he has both the materials and the opportunity for elucidating a subject which is still involved in much obscurity, and which is by no means to be disposed of either *ex cathedra* or *ex hypothesi*.

The remainder of the volume is occupied with descriptive detail of the various objects of interest occurring on the journey from Thebes to the Second Cataract; with a chronology of the Egyptian monarchs; and with chronological tables of 'the Caliphs and 'Moslem Kings of Egypt.' All this, however, we must dismiss, since we are approaching a subject of the highest importance to the elucidation of history, and concerning which too much pains can hardly be taken to obtain the means of determining with accuracy and precision, the range and limits of its acquisition.

We have long suspected that, in the study of Egyptian Hieroglyphics, more zeal and talent than sobriety and discretion had been exercised by the French school of investigators. It is, we imagine, impossible to examine the writings of Dr. Young, and the *Précis* of Champollion, without perceiving, on the part of the latter, an eager and unscrupulous disposition to monopolize the entire credit that may be due to the discoverer and extender of that dark and intricate science. Vanity, both personal and national, appears to have impaired, in his instance, the integrity and liberality of the literary character. As a passing illustration of his temper and spirit in matters of rivalry, we cite the following brief extract from his twenty-second Letter. He is referring to the collections he has made for the Museum of the Louvre.

'The finest coloured bas-relief from the royal tomb of Menephtha I. (Ousirei) at Biban-el-Mokouk; this capital piece is alone worth a collection: it has caused me much anxiety, and will certainly put me in litigation with the English in Alexandria, who claim to be the lawful proprietors of the tomb of Ousirei, discovered by Belzoni, at the expense of Mr. Salt. In spite of this specious claim (*belle pretention*), of two events, I am resolved on one; *either my bas-relief shall reach Toulon, or it shall go to the bottom of the sea or of the Nile, rather than fall into foreign hands. On this point my mind is made up.*'

Without any disposition to lay undue stress on the question of property, we may at least be allowed to express our surprise at the narrow and exclusive feelings betrayed in this singular passage. M. Champollion, however, seems to have distinguished himself throughout by this quality of appropriation. He tried hard to make a clean conveyance of Dr. Young's priority of discovery; and he is charged by Mr. Wilkinson with making unacknowledged use of chronological facts, first ascertained by Mr. W. and Major Felix, and exhibited to the French Traveller frankly and without the smallest reserve by that officer, whose name does not, that we

can recollect, even occur in Champollion's Egyptian correspondence. On the general subject of hieroglyphic interpretation, Mr. Wilkinson observes, that

‘Many are still prepossessed against the alphabetic or phonetic system, and obstinately refuse either to admit its utility or examine its pretensions. I therefore think it right to state that, with the assistance of Coptic, the early discoveries of Dr. Young, and the subsequent extensive improvements of M. Champollion, I have arrived at the same general results, with some few immaterial exceptions, as the savant I have just mentioned, without having had the least communication with him, either in Europe, or during his stay in Egypt; and the *same* conclusions have sometimes been formed previously, sometimes subsequently to his. Thus, then, generally speaking, the observations of two persons on the same subject have given similar results; and though I am far from pretending to compare my own to the unparalleled success of M. Champollion, I cannot but mention a fact which goes so far to demonstrate the truth of a system which some are still determined to call in question.’

Mr. Wilkinson will, on reconsideration, be aware that this sort of language argues at least as much ‘prepossession’ in ‘him that gives’ as in ‘him that takes’. To say of an adversary, that he is *determined* to make opposition, is an easy and off-hand way of laying exclusive claim to all imaginable candour and all possible infallibility. Speaking for ourselves, who have most certainly formed no determination in the matter, we shall, without any hesitation, express our conviction, that the questioners, if not altogether in the right, can at least put forward a very fair show of reason for their suspicions. The mode of arguing adopted by Mr. Wilkinson, amounts pretty nearly to what logicians are wont to call a *non sequitur*, since there is obviously nothing wonderful in the fact, that two inquirers intent on the same object, and working with the same tools on the same materials, should bring out the same results. In the following passage, however, he expresses himself in language at once more discreet and more definite. Few persons, we are persuaded, who are not pledged to a theory, and who have bestowed fair consideration on the subject, will hesitate at *giving in their adhesion* to his conclusions.

‘With regard to the translation of hieroglyphics, M. Champollion must allow, no one is yet sufficiently advanced in the language of ancient Egypt to enable him literally to translate an inscription of any length, or moderately complicated; though a general meaning may frequently be obtained. Time will no doubt do more, and we may hope to see this language interpreted with the same facility as many with which we have been long acquainted. But the steps must be *slow* and cautious; and the only mode of convincing those who still adhere to a contrary opinion, is to trust little to conjecture, or at least to state an uncertainty wherever it exists; to admit and correct errors when dis-

covered ; and to settle a fixed, rather than a temporary interpretation to the groupes, which will answer to their meaning whenever they occur.

Had Champollion acted upon these principles, we are quite sure that the science for which he did so much, would have been not only more generally accredited, but further advanced. With him, however, there is none of this wise reserve ; he rushes boldly to his conclusions, and avows his *pride*, that, after tracing the Nile from its mouth to the Second Cataract, he has acquired a 'right' to say, that '*there is nothing to modify*' in his "Letter on the hieroglyphic Alphabet." 'Our alphabet,' he proceeds, 'is good ; it applies with equal success, first to the Egyptian monuments of the times of the Romans and the Lagidæ ; and next, what becomes of a far higher interest, to the inscriptions of all the temples, palaces, and tombs of the Pharaonic epochs.' When we meet, after having made some general acquaintance with the facts of the case, with such presumptuous language as this, we may be excused for doubting. In truth, the 'prepossession' alluded to by Mr. Wilkinson are not altogether without cause. The charlatanism and want of common candour betrayed by Champollion, whenever his nationality or his all-grasping vanity throw temptations in his way, may well excite, in the minds of cautious inquirers, a suspicion that all is not right. The absence of high and honourable feeling exhibited in his attempts to escape from the galling conviction, that he had been anticipated in the two great discoveries of Egyptian literature, by a man who had not bestowed a thousandth part of the same labour on the subject, can most assuredly have no favourable effect on the minds of impartial readers ; while the mystifying processes by which he endeavours to effect the *suppressio veri*, do not always enable him to avoid the *suggestio falsi*. Were it worth while, we could point out, in the early portion of his 'Précis,' a tissue of evasions and misrepresentations, studiously involved in language affectedly systematic and precise, but really intricate and obscure, introduced for the purpose of ejecting Dr. Young *hors de cour et de procès*, that casts a deep and deplorable shade over the memory of Champollion. Into this examination, however, we cannot now enter, since the task—by no means a pleasant one—still lies before us, of stating the heavy charges brought against the great *Hiero-grammate* by no less formidable an accuser than Julius Klaproth. Whether the motives of this eminent linguist are altogether without taint of personality, is a point that we cannot undertake to decide ; though there is a keenness, a sarcastic tone, a relentless perseverance in the manner of the attack, that may justify suspicion ; but these things do not affect the substance of the indictment, and perhaps the true merits of the case could hardly be thoroughly brought out in

any other way. Champollion's writings will bear rough handling: he is a master of mystification; he is a marvellous 'cloud-compeller,' and his decisive, unhesitating manner aids in the imposition.

'Reflecting,' writes M. Klaproth, towards the close of his pamphlet, 'on all these difficulties, and on the circumstance that we only know the import of a comparatively very small number of *alphabetico-demotic* letters, we cannot but feel extreme surprise at the hardihood with which M. Champollion has endeavoured to make it believed that he was able to read, understand, and translate the papyri, and the demotic portion of the Rosetta inscription; while it is certain that, spite of his brilliant discoveries, he had never succeeded in comprehending the half of a single line in the hieroglyphic part of that famous inscription. Thus has he never been able to comply with the reiterated demand of the learned of all countries, repeated some time since by the illustrious *Silvestre de Sacy*—"to publish a special examination of the text, both demotic and hieroglyphic, of the Rosetta monument, were it even nothing more than an imperfect sketch." "Such a work," adds the Nestor of oriental literature, "would be, doubtless, of the greatest weight in the question under discussion."

We are, of course, unable to say whether the '*savant Egyptologue*' has left among his papers the particulars of any such examination; but we observe, in a prospectus attached to the first of two Letters, addressed by a François Salvolini to the secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Turin, that he, the friend and disciple of Champollion, is ready, under the guarantee of a subscription, to publish the results of such an analysis, undertaken by himself. The pamphlets are interesting, and shew skill in the manipulation of difficult materials; but, with the science of his master, Salvolini seems to have inherited a good portion of his unscrupulous spirit, since he has the cool audacity to speak of his proposed work as a 'homage rendered to a discovery which will confer everlasting honour on literature and on France.' Knavery seems catching in this department; for M. Salvolini, while mentioning a paper, on the Astronomical Year of the Egyptians, read by Champollion to the Institute, laments that 'fate has deprived us, perhaps for ever, of this last work, his intended legacy to science! Champollion mentioned, a few days before his death, the name of an individual to whom, in the true spirit of his fine character, he had not been able to refuse his manuscript: this name, not being familiar to the friends who surrounded his bed, was forgotten during the terrible catastrophe which a few days after terminated a life so precious; and it is thus that, by an act which we are not permitted to qualify, science has been hitherto deprived of this master-piece.' This is an odd story, but *le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable*; else we might be tempted

to express our astonishment at so strange an instance of inattention and forgetfulness, and to inquire whether the rough notes and the fair copy of the dissertation vanished at the same time. From this digression, however, we return to M. Klaproth.

He begins his *Examen Critique* with the somewhat caustic observation, that, although great enthusiasm has been excited by the late M. Champollion's discovery of the phonetic alphabet, few persons seem to have a precise idea, either of what it really is, or of what it may have produced in the way of satisfactory result. 'Dr. Young,' he says, 'in England, is, without contradiction, the first author of this discovery.' It was in 1818 that he ascertained the alphabetical value of the greater part of the hieroglyphics composing the names of Ptolemy and Berenice. M. Klaproth qualifies this concession by observing, that the sagacity of the English savant failed to carry him beyond this *heureuse rencontre*, and that 'he left to his French competitor 'all the glory that may belong to a discovery reasoned out and 'submitted to demonstration.' This is not exactly fair. In the first place, Dr. Young *did* carry the discovery further. He had previously traced the connexion, cavilled at, but not disproved by Champollion, between the hieroglyphic, hieratic, and enchorial characters; and he subsequently pursued his inquiries to a considerable extent, acknowledging, with unrequited delicacy, the aid which he derived from the more extended researches of his 'French competitor.' It is, however, not to be forgotten, that, while the Doctor was a universal student, and a discoverer in almost every branch of science and literature, the fame of Champollion rests but upon one foundation, and that apparently not particularly solid or secure. Dr. Young had a distinct and laborious profession, claiming not only his immediate attention, but the anxious application of his leisure hours, and permitting but a partial and remitted advertence to extraneous objects. Hence, when his 'sagacity' had detected and ascertained the master-key to hieroglyphic interpretation, he retired and left further research to those whose proper and exclusive business it was*.

For a considerable period previously to this cardinal discovery, Champollion had devoted himself to the study of Egyptian antiquities. When he commenced his labours in this direction, Jablonsky and Zoëga were the great leaders of public opinion;

* We refer our readers for further details on this subject, as well as on the various and eminently successful investigations of this distinguished man, to his highly interesting "Account of some recent discoveries in hieroglyphic literature" (1823); to a sketch of his life and catalogue of his works, published in 1831; and to his "Rudiments of an Egyptian Dictionary in the ancient enchorial character," appended (in 1830) to the Rev. Henry Tattam's Coptic Grammar.

and the latter had already suggested the notion, that some, at least, of the hieroglyphics *might* have been the representatives of sounds; and to these he assigned the well-imagined term *phonetic*, afterwards adopted, as usual without acknowledgement, by Champollion. This important conjecture had not, however, made proselytes among the learned, and the sacred characters were still considered as symbolical or ideographic; when the discovery of the Rosetta Stone came in time to modify the general opinion, without making a convert of Champollion, who retained his old opinions. In 1821, he published a volume "On the Hieratic Writing of the ancient Egyptians"; and there, after having admitted that a whole host of learned men, with Humboldt and the members of the Egyptian Commission among them, had come to the inference that the writing of the Egyptian manuscripts was alphabetic, he states broadly, that a long comparative study of the hieroglyphic and hieratic characters had led him to a *contrary conclusion*. On this undeniable expression of opinion, M. Klaproth gives the following decisive comment.

'This small volume in folio is become extremely rare; it is said, that the Author made every possible effort to prevent the copies from meeting the public eye, by withdrawing from commerce, and from the possession of his friends, those which he had before sent abroad. The reason assigned was, "the fear of wounding the scruples of pious persons." But there is in that work absolutely nothing that relates to the high antiquity of the empire of the Pharaohs, and therefore, on that point, in open contradiction to the Bible narrative. It must be permitted us to believe that M. Champollion's true motive for suppressing the book, was, that it might not supply a too accurate measure of the progress which he had made up to 1821, a year before his "Letter to M. Dacier." The true measure of that progress exists in the assertion, that "the hieroglyphic signs are signs of things, and "not signs of sounds." Assuredly, he who had bestowed ten years' labour on the hieroglyphics without deciphering them, and who, in 1821, consigned to the press such an axiom as this, greatly needed to be guided in his new researches of 1822, by the discoveries of Dr. Young, published in December 1819, in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica. It can then no longer be doubted, that the discoveries of M. Champollion are grafted on those of Dr. Young, to whom belongs the merit of having first demonstrated, that the Egyptians used hieroglyphical signs to express proper names alphabetically.'

In the mean time, further materials were in course of acquisition; and the inscription of Philæ, communicated by Mr. Bankes to the Academy of Inscriptions, gave a new impulse to these studies. In 1822, Champollion published his Letter to M. Dacier, and, in that document, argued upon the newly established hypothesis with good discretion and fair analysis; but, in his

more venturous *Précis*, first given to the world in 1824, he suffered himself to make a larger and less guarded application of the same principles. His "Egyptian Pantheon," of which the periodical publication commenced in the same year, was marked by a frequent reliance on the monuments, which, as is justly objected by Klaproth, 'could be admissible only in the event of a 'full demonstration that the graphic remains of Egypt had been 'completely explained.' A journey to Italy led to a long examination of the archæological treasures collected in the Museum of Turin, and exhibiting an extensive series of inscriptions and papyri. In this visit originated the Letters to the Duke de Blacas, full of hazarded and unsupported explanations.

'In these later works of M. Champollion, all traces of conscientious discussion disappear. In the "Letters to the Duke of Blacas," and in the "Egyptian Pantheon," he accumulates conjecture on conjecture, and contradiction on contradiction. These last shew themselves chiefly in the second edition of the *Précis*, which destroys in part what had been given as demonstrated in the first. To render his hypotheses more plausible, M. Champollion has been compelled to construct for himself a new Egyptian mythology, which is itself hypothetical, and founded on nothing.'

Our readers would not thank us for entering in detail on the skilful, but severe course of examination and comparison, by which M. Klaproth has, as it appears to us, *sent back* nearly the entire system for reconstruction. Admitting the accuracy of a certain class of inductions, and the validity of some of the principles on which the inquiry has been conducted, he throws aside, with the smallest possible ceremony, all that is supposititious, and all that has no claim to reception, beyond that of ingenious but unsound theory, or of happy but accidental application. In fact, unless the statements and inferences of this masterly critique can be satisfactorily repelled or avoided, nearly all the steps of the investigation must be retrodden, and a fresh process begun, on a more comprehensive plan, and in a more cautious and sceptical spirit. Nothing, in an inquiry like the present, can have a more mischievous influence, than a disposition to close with first appearances, to be dazzled by happy coincidences, or, worse than all, to let personal vanity direct the judgement; yet, we fear that all these injurious agencies have been at work, and that it will cost much labour before their traces can be effaced. The very first point, the fact which lies at the foundation of the whole, i. e. the broad line of distinction, if there be such a thing, between the hieroglyphic and phonetic characters, is still unascertained; yet, we are promised a *Grammar*, of course with the whole *attirail* of verbs and nouns and articles, of this mysterious and unsettled language! *Nous verrons*—but our doubts are stronger than our hopes; and we suspect that the Editors too may have

their misgivings, for it was advertised as *sous presse*, in 1833, and the first Number has not, that we are aware, yet made its appearance.

Supposing, even, that this first difficulty were removed, and that the power and arrangement of the letters were unequivocally established, still, observes M. Klaproth, there would remain to be ascertained, the meaning of all such words as might be lost to tradition, forming, of course, the incomparably greater portion of the language. Unfortunately, the only medium of interpretation, the Coptic tongue, is come down to us in a mutilated and very imperfect state, as the representative of the ancient Egyptian dialects. The Coptic has long ceased to be a spoken language, and its literary remains, few and limited to subjects connected with Christian theology, lend small assistance to the exploration of the habits and opinions of idolatrous ages. The monks of the Thebaïd carefully avoided the peculiar phraseology of paganism, as a tainted and unsanctified thing, and were prone to substitute Greek terms for native expressions, filling their lexicons and vocabularies, moreover, with Arabic words, in place of such Coptic forms as might have been forgotten or disused. And then we have to take into account the changes of the language itself. Did the courtiers of the Ptolemies speak in the idiom of Sesostriis? Had, asks M. K. the invasions of the shepherd-chiefs, of the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Saracens, no influence on the old and sacred tongue? What a sweeping alteration must the introduction of Christianity have made in the hieratic vocabulary!

‘ If all these causes of change, of alteration, and of discord, be duly considered, we shall be astonished at the confidence with which certain persons are prompt to apply Coptic dictionaries to the interpretation of the most ancient Egyptian inscriptions. They could not act with greater security, if they possessed a glossary composed in the very reign of Sesostriis. It is impossible that M. Champollion can have shared in this exaggerated confidence; he knew too well that, in the lapse of two or three thousand years, the orthography and the very form of the words must have undergone more than one considerable alteration; and, accordingly, in his transcription of Egyptian phrases, supposed to have been written phonetically, he found a great number of words no longer existing in the same form in either the Coptic Bible, legends, or lexicons. Such a result was inevitable; and similar words must infallibly present themselves at every line of the ancient inscriptions; but then how is the sense of these words to be recovered, and what faith can the critical inquirer have in the effects of such hazardous divination?’

We close this attempt to render the state of an abstruse and complicated question accessible to general readers, with the follow-

ing extract, where M. Klaproth employs the Basque or Biscayan language in an ingenious illustration of the subject under discussion.

‘The fact stands thus:—we can read a part of the proper names; we can estimate the effect of a few grammatical signs; we may succeed in finding out the signification of a few words dispersed in the various texts; the numerical marks are known; and some of the divinities are distinguished by their figures, employed as symbolical characters, and also by their names phonetically written. Those who occupy themselves in the study of Egyptian antiquities, are then in a condition to read and understand the hieroglyphical inscriptions, much to the same extent as a person, not understanding the *Basque*, might succeed in deciphering the following title of a catechism in that language, printed at Bayonne in 1814.

“*Guiristinoen DOCTRINA laburra, haur-gaztei irakhasteco, Piarres DE DA VIEUXVILLE, BAYONACO Yaun aphezpicuaren manuz IMPRIMATUA, han choilqui irakhatsia içaiteco BAYONACO DIOCESAN.*”

‘Here we may readily recognise the words *doctrine*, *diocese*, and *imprinted* (*imprimé*); we may perhaps guess, that *aphezpicua* means bishop (*évêque*), and *guiristinoen*, *christian*; but we shall never be able to seize the complete sense of this title, unless assisted by one understanding the language, or by a Basque dictionary. We possess works of this kind, and the Basque is still spoken by an entire population; but it is to be feared that the mummies of Egypt may resist all temptation to answer our questions, and that to us they may be for ever dumb.’

In the note appended to a preceding page, we have referred to Mr. Tattam’s “*Compendious Grammar of the Egyptian language, as contained in the Coptic and Sahidic dialects; with observations on the Bashmuric*,” 1830. It may save us the trouble, and our readers the infliction, of an elaborate article, if we cite the single, but expressive term applied to it by Klaproth: it is, he says, and says justly, ‘*excellent*.’

Art. III.—*The Old and New Testament*, arranged in Historical and Chronological Order, (on the basis of Lightfoot’s Chronicle,) &c., &c., &c. By the Rev. G. Townshend, M.A., Prebendary of Durham.

(Concluded from page 398.)

IN the former part of this Article, we proposed to offer some general remarks upon the study and interpretation of the Bible, with a view to suggest hints of direction to inquiring minds in the examination of Scripture, and to guard against the more common sources of popular error. Having referred to the Book of Job, the Pentateuch, and the Psalms, we proceed to some

brief notices respecting the Prophecies, upon which so many fanciful and mistaken theories, founded evidently in ignorance of the true character of those sacred productions, have been presented to the world.

Mr. Townsend's Chronological Arrangement appears well adapted to the historical and PROPHETIC parts of Scripture; and the method which he has suggested, would be productive of various advantages to a duly qualified commentator. To the majority of readers, the writings of the Prophets appear exceedingly perplexed and obscure. This arises, in part, from the circumstance, that these holy men were the public teachers of the Jewish Church, as well as the foretellers of future events, and that their discourses are occasionally mixed up and implicated with the politics of the great monarchies around them; with the occurrences of the passing day; with the idolatries and corruptions of princes, priests, and people; and also with the frequent contests between the rival kingdoms of Judah and Israel, which were not less vexatious and disastrous than our wars between the Red Roses and the White, the houses of York and Lancaster. The Minor Prophets are almost a sealed book to plain Christians, who cannot, without a world of pains, form a precise idea when, and where, these good men lived, and which of them taught or prophesied before the captivity, or during the captivity, or after the return from Babylon. Neither have the unlearned any just conception, though this is often essential to the proper apprehension of the drift of the argument, which of the prophets addressed themselves to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, comprehending the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin; and which to the more corrupt and idolatrous inhabitants of the rival city of Samaria, and those ten tribes that had revolted from the house of David, usually designated by the periphrasis of the house of Israel, of Ephraim, or of Joseph. And, as to the kings of these two hostile states, (factions we might almost call them,) with their fathers, mothers, sons, collateral kindred and pedigree, these exhibit 'confusion worse confounded,'—a chaos of distractions. Mr. Townsend's labours have not been thrown away upon these points. His plan will be seen by the following statement, which we give in his own words.

'The Sixth Period comprises the time from the accession of Rehoboam to the commencement of the Babylonish captivity. It includes the greater part of the books of Chronicles and Kings, which are harmonized throughout, with some of the Psalms, and the prophecies of Joel, Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Jonah, Micah, Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, part of Jeremiah, and part of the first chapter of Daniel. The difficulties of arranging this period were very great. The intricacies of the chronology, the double line of the kings of Judah and Israel, with the differences of explanation among the

authors who were consulted, presented obstacles which at first sight appeared insuperable. Various modes presented themselves of dividing the double line of kings : one by placing them in two columns, and attaching the common date in the margin ; another of placing the kings of Israel after those of Judah, as a separate chapter ; and, that which has been adopted, to divide the history of the kings of Judah into parts, each part containing two portions ; the first giving a history of a king of Judah ; the second appropriated to the reign of the contemporary king, or kings, of the sister kingdom. . . . The Seventh Period comprises the history of the Babylonish captivity. No historical book in the Old Testament contains a complete narrative of the transactions of the seventy years ; they are related in various parts of the prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, and in the latter passages of the books of Kings and Chronicles. Much difficulty arose in arranging the several events referred to in this Seventh Period, from the circumstance that the prophecies of Ezekiel were delivered to the Jews in the captivity at Babylon, at the same time that Jeremiah was prophesying at Jerusalem and in Egypt. To prevent any confusion in rightly apprehending this part of the Sacred history, the events which took place, and the prophecies which were delivered at Jerusalem, are placed in a different part from those at Babylon. The transactions in Egypt, when the Jews who escaped from the captivity fled into that country, after the murder of Gedaliah, and took with them Jeremiah the prophet, are given in a separate part. The reader will thus be enabled to peruse the accounts of the affairs of the Jews at Jerusalem, Babylon, and Egypt, without confounding either places or dates.'

The Minor Prophets cannot be understood without a careful attention to the relative position in which the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel stood to each other, and the extent to which the idolatry of the calves was carried in the latter kingdom. The separation of the tribes after the death of Solomon, which was the punishment of his own sins and those of his people, was the beginning of sorrows to the Jewish nation. United, they might have withstood for ages the hostile attacks of their proudest enemies ; but divided, they both fell under the dominion of Babylon. Nor was this all. To prevent the ten tribes from going up to Jerusalem, which might have weakened his authority, and formed a bond of union between the now separated states, Jeroboam determined to set up the two calves for worship in Bethel and Dan ; the one at the northern, the other at the southern extremity of his kingdom. But this masterpiece of state policy, as he no doubt deemed it, failed throughout ; for the more pious of the people and the priests, abhorring the new idolatry, fled from Israel to Judah, and materially strengthened the two tribes which clung to the House of David. 2 Chron. xi. 13—17. The prophets were especially raised up to rebuke this idolatry ; and most of them were sent to the ten tribes, though

they sometimes gave powerful exhortations to the people of Judah, both to confirm the piety of the faithful, and to guard the more lax among them from the contagion of Israel's apostasy and guilt, to which not a few in Judah and Benjamin were secretly prone. The knowledge of these facts gives peculiar point to the exhortations of Hosea, (who was contemporary with Isaiah,) and especially to his fine appeal from the close of the eleventh chapter to the end of his prophecy. He draws this distinction between the two kingdoms. "*Ephraim*," meaning the ten tribes, "compasseth me about with lies, and the House of Judah with deceit; but *Judah* yet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the saints." "*Ephraim* feedeth on the wind and followeth after the east wind; he daily increaseth lies and desolation; and they do make a covenant with the Assyrians, and oil is carried into Egypt. The Lord hath also a controversy with Judah." There is much force and beauty in the following allusion to the patriarch Jacob's vision at Bethel, viewed in connection with these circumstances. "Yea he had power over the Angel, and prevailed: he wept and made supplication to him: he found him in *Bethel*, and there he spake with us." Thus, in those very fields in which Jacob, their renowned ancestor, had conversed with angels, and drawn down the blessing from heaven, his degenerate descendants had set up the idolatry of the calves, and provoked the most High to scatter them among the nations.

This state of things illustrates many parts of the Divine dispensations towards the Jewish people, as related in the books of Kings and Chronicles. The principal miracles performed, are found to relate to Israel, rather than to Judah; and the ministry of Elijah, who stood at the head of the prophetic dispensation, was almost exclusively confined to the ten tribes. Miracles, we should remember, are uniformly given for the purpose of attesting a Divine Revelation; and God sent Prophets, "with signs following," to authenticate his own word, and leave those without excuse who fell into the snare of idolatry. These miracles were chiefly of an awful and retributive character; and they were intended to confirm the mission of Elijah, as opposed both to the false prophets of Baal, and to the corrupt priesthood of Jeroboam. A miracle was even wrought for Jeroboam's own confutation, at the first setting up of his Egyptian altar, (see 1 Kings xiii. 1—5,) and another in reference to his wife and child. (xiv. 1—16.) The drought for three years, during which time Elijah was fed by ravens, and the prophets of Baal were destroyed; the destruction of the captains of Ahaziah by fire from heaven, and that of the two and forty profane youths, killed by she-bears from the wood, for pouring contempt on the office of the Prophet; these, and other miraculous interventions, which are heedlessly excepted against as severe, were mercifully intended to substantiate the claims of Divine Revela-

tion, and to form a solemn protest against idolatry, with all its destructive consequences. But warning and miracle proved vain, so far as the bulk of the nation was concerned, for the ten tribes persisted in their apostasy, and were carried into Babylon, whence, as a separate people, they never returned. Judah also, previously to her captivity, became involved in the same crime, as we find from the testimony of Ezekiel, in his eighth chapter, where he graphically portrays, what Milton calls, 'the 'dark idolatries of alienated Judah,' and shews that the worst abominations of the Egyptian, the Phœnician, and the Persian rites, were shamelessly practised within the precincts of the temple itself. Yet, in the midst of the denunciations and judgements which form the burden of the prophetic page, the faithful were consoled by those glowing predictions of the kingdom and glory of the coming Messiah, to whom "bear all the prophets witness," which have constituted the hope of the church in all succeeding time. Unlearned readers would often find a key to the prophetic writings, by noticing the first sentences of each book, which usually specify the date and circumstances of the history. We cannot but wish that Mr. Townsend had adverted, in reference to the minor prophets, to points of this nature, as they would have illustrated the specific value of his Arrangement, and have saved us some little trouble in bringing them before our readers. The few notes he has interspersed upon historical events are excellent; they are only too few.

Whatever tends to facilitate the enlightened study of Scripture Prophecy, is confessedly valuable to devout men, as it strengthens the general evidence of Christianity, enlarges the sphere in which the human mind may contemplate the communications of the Supreme Intellect, and guards against those evils which have so often resulted from the intrusion of inconsiderate and incompetent speculators into this department of enquiry. Lord Bacon, in his "Advancement of learning," wished to have a 'history 'of prophecy,' wherein 'every prophecy of Scripture might be 'sorted with the event fulfilling the same, throughout the 'ages of the world, both for the better confirmation of faith, 'and for the better illumination of the church, touching 'those parts of prophecies which are yet unfulfilled: ' and though much has been done in this department since his time, much undoubtedly remains to be accomplished. It is of the greatest consequence to have some clear notion what prophecies refer to ages past, and have reached their consummation, and what remain unaccomplished; to know what predictions related to the more immediate interests of the Jewish people, at or near the times in which the prophets wrote, and which of them belong more comprehensively to the future and permanent interests of the Church of Christ. Such a distinction is the more

necessary on account of the wild theories of certain recent speculators upon unfulfilled prophecy, who mix and confound together subjects which have no natural connection, heedlessly applying prophecies and denunciations which have already met their accomplishment, (as in the case of Egypt, Moab, Tyre,) to the future overthrow of the papal nations, and the downfall of Antichrist and infidelity. In all former times, the study of the prophecies was supposed to require adequate learning, some fixed principles of biblical criticism, an ability to estimate the force of evidence, a capacity to discriminate between predictions which have, and those which have not, received their completion, a moderate acquaintance with geography and chronology; together with such an estimate of the proper province of reason, and of the necessary limits of the human understanding, as might prevent a rash and peremptory decision, upon points concerning which "the angels in heaven" are declared, by our Lord himself, to have no precise knowledge, and "which the Father hath reserved in his own power." But in the present day, these obvious pre-requisites seem to have been voted utterly useless; the safe rules which guided better understandings have been thrown to the winds; ignorance has assumed the tuition of ignorance; and presumption has uttered its bold anathema, where piety ought to have been content to pray, and patience to wait. Some men seem to approach the sure word of prophecy in pretty much the same spirit as that in which Alexander applied to the priestess and the oracle of old, to dictate, not to entreat; to decide, rather than to consult; determined to find, or to force an answer; or as Saul inquired of the Pythoness of Endor, apparently not at all concerned whether the inspiration came from above or from below. The immediate effect of the very superficial writings of such persons, we regret to say, has been, to attach discredit to the whole subject of unfulfilled predictions, to weaken the faith of the devout, to point the sneers of the profane, to give to those who call themselves philosophical unbelievers, what they deem a triumph, and, in a word, to put the study of prophecy many degrees more backward than it was before.

The total perversion of Scripture from its original reference, in order to suit the exigencies of an hypothesis, (arising probably from the fact, that its supporters have no system of biblical interpretation at all,) may well make us wonder that their incompetency is not discerned as soon as their baseless theories are propounded. When we find, for example, these self-styled expositors of prophecy gravely applying to Christendom and Europe, predictions which the inspired writers limit to Edom and Idumea centuries ago, a school-boy may see that there is a radical fallacy in the system which requires for its existence that the two eyes of history, chronology and geography, should be unceremoniously put out. Yet, one of

them, quoting that expression of David, "Who will bring me into the strong city, who will lead me into Edom?" adds, 'Or *Europe*,' and applies it to the battle of Armageddon; though every one but himself could see at a glance, that the whole psalm refers to David's conquests over Edom and Moab, in his own times. Another of them quoting Isaiah xxxiv. 5, "My sword shall be bathed in heaven; behold it shall come down upon *Idumea*,"—"Or *Europe*,' quoth the expounder! By writers of this stamp, the xivth of Isaiah has been most absurdly applied to Bonaparte and the young Napoleon; and concerning the latter, the prediction was hazarded: 'We doubt not God will bring him forth from his youthful retirement, to the astonishment of Europe, to the end that he may complete the work which his father began'!! In quoting the 29th verse, "Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina," they call Palestina, Christendom, and add: 'Then immediately follows the destruction of Christendom, "Thou, whole Palestina, art dissolved."' So that, according to these wretched interpreters, Edom or Idumea means Europe, and Palestine, Europe! 'Why, this is very midsummer madness!' Yet, such dreams and delusions ought not, perhaps, to surprise us, as they have uniformly prevailed in periods of public excitement, and spring partly from that love of the marvellous common to all weak minds, and partly from that desire to penetrate the concealed future, when the present is dark and uncertain, which is one of the off-shoots of the principle of curiosity so strongly implanted in our nature. Dryden complains, not without reason, of similar pretenders in his day,

'Who racked e'en scripture to confess their cause;—

and adds, in a strain of powerful irony, the following vigorous passage, not less applicable to our times than his own:

—'But that's no news to the poor injured page:
It has been used as ill in every age,
And is constrained with patience all to take,
For what defence can *Greek* and *Hebrew* make?
Happy, who can this talking trumpet seize;
They make it speak whatever notes they please.
'T was given at first our oracle t' enquire,
But since our sects in Prophecy grow higher,
The text inspires not them, but they the text inspire!'

We should have been glad to offer a few words, had our space permitted, on the prophecies of Daniel, and on the interesting period of the sojourn of the chosen people in Babylon. From this, we think, a new era was to be dated, as the Jews were then brought into the focus of the world's light, and the rays of revealed truth

began to be diffused in various directions, by means of the Greek translations of the Scriptures, which contributed to spread some knowledge of the prophecies in the Heathen world. But these points would require a dissertation; and as we have already dwelt long enough upon the Old Testament, we must hasten to give some account of the New. Respecting the return from the Captivity, and *the rebuilding of Jerusalem*, Mr. Townsend has some valuable remarks in his volume of Sermons, which we extract, as illustrative of the manner in which he brings historical references to bear upon the development of Christian truth. The Sermon is upon Psalm cxlvii. 2, 3, 4. In a note, he gives the authority of Dr. Hales for the facts to which he refers; and the same facts are brought forward in his *Chronological Arrangement*, vol. ii., p. 881.

‘ The peculiar value of the argument for the Providence of God, which I shall deduce from this discussion, is derived from its allusion to facts and dates. The prophecies of the Bible demonstrate the truth of the religion of Jesus Christ: and those prophecies are not the general language of men who foretold future events at random as events which might possibly take place; the prophecies refer to exact and precise dates. The prophets mention the very time when the facts, which they foretold, should happen. Thus, the exact time was declared when the children of Israel should come out of Egypt; and when they were at length delivered, we read, in the emphatic language of Moses, *on the self-same day it came to pass*; on the self-same day which was prophesied—*it is a night much to be observed*, because the exact fulfilment of prophecy demonstrated the Providence of God. So it was also with the Babylonish captivity. Seventy years were appointed: and when the seventy years were over, the Providence of God overthrew the kingdom of the Chaldeans, and brought in other powers who had never before heard of the God of the Jews; and who restored the captive tribes at the very time which the prophets had predicted. So it was with respect to the seventy weeks of Daniel, that the Son of God was born at the very time, and place, and under the very circumstances which had been foretold. Now the passage before us has reference to one of the most remarkable of these proofs of the superintending Providence of God. The prophets had foretold that the seventy years of captivity should be ended, and the Jews should be restored; and they added also that Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by the Chaldeans, should be built up again. The Jews were certainly restored at the appointed time: but when they proceeded to build the walls of the city they were opposed by the Samaritans, and by other nations, and the work was suspended for many years. Every application which was made by the Jews to the Court of Persia was made in vain, until about the time when this psalm was written; and Jerusalem was then permitted to be built for this very remarkable reason. The Persians who were the masters over the Jews, had been for many years at war with the Greeks. After many battles by land and by sea, the Greeks become victorious. A treaty of peace was made between the two powers, and one article of that treaty was that

no Persian army should come within three days' march of the coast. Now the city of Jerusalem was precisely that distance from the sea-coast, and the king of Persia, therefore, to strengthen the boundary of his empire, and to secure the general safety, gave the Jews the long desired permission to build the walls of Jerusalem, at the very time that the prophets had predicted. The Persians did not consider the God of the Jews—the Greeks did not know Jehovah. Both nations pursued their own objects—their ambition—their hatred—their revenge—and their enterprises. Neither of them knew, nor thought, nor cared about, the God who telleth the number of the stars and calleth them all by their names—the God of prophecy, the God of Christianity. Neither were remembering him—yet both were accomplishing his will—both were fulfilling his prophecies,—both were effecting the designs of the Almighty.' *Townsend's Sermons*, p. 136.

The two volumes upon the New Testament will repay the attention of the theological student. This part of the work occupies an intermediate rank between the fulness of commentary and the minuteness of annotation, being furnished with copious notes and dissertations, of which many appear to be original, whilst others, ably compressed, are selected from the writings of some of the best critics at home and abroad. The Author no doubt felt the difficulty of furnishing annotations at once profound enough to instruct the learned, and popular enough to interest the illiterate; but he has supplied ample materials that may contribute to make the wise still wiser, and, what perhaps is of more consequence, to give to the uninitiated in these pursuits, something like an introduction to the critical study of Scripture. There are also preliminary dissertations, copious indices, and well-arranged tables of the order and succession of events, adding to the value of the whole as a book of reference.

The principle of chronological arrangement here adopted, secures to the reader the advantages both of a Harmony and of a Diatessaron, enabling him to follow the proper order of events, and at the same time to peruse the evangelical records in the precise words of the inspired writers. To compare and adjust the different statements of the Evangelists, appears to be so natural a mode of arriving at a just estimate of the amount of their separate, yet consentaneous testimony, that we do not wonder that Harmonies of the Gospels should have been numerous, from the times of Tatian and Eusebius, in the second and fourth centuries, to our own. Fabricius, in his well-known "*Bibliotheca Græca*," which has been continued down to the year 1795, has given the titles of a great number. The latest we have seen, is the Rev. E. Greswell's "*Harmonia Evangelica*," accompanied with three able volumes of dissertations upon the principles and arrangement of a Harmony of the Gospels, reviewed in the ninth volume of our present series.

Mr. Townsend agrees with Mr. Greswell in rejecting the hypothesis of Michaelis, Leclerc, Lessing, and others, of some common document having been the source whence the four evangelists derived their materials; a supposition intended to account for the essential unity and agreement of the inspired writers, amidst the circumstantial diversities visible in their narratives. The theory of the continental theologians, though supported by the learning and ingenuity of Bishop Marsh, has by no means met with the universal concurrence of competent biblical scholars, many of whom have considered it as a series of assumptions, clogged with great difficulties, and not sufficient, if admitted, to solve the problem in question. It was candidly, but ingeniously opposed, many years ago, in a pamphlet entitled, "Observations on the hypothesis that the Evangelists made use of Written Documents in the composition of their Gospels," (London, 1815,) the production, we believe, of the present Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. The Writer contends that a weight of internal evidence against the supposition of either a Greek or a Hebrew common document, is afforded by the irregularity of the verbal coincidences, the variations in the connecting and introductory matter, and the unnecessary transposition of circumstances in each of the first three Gospels. St. Paul's powerful appeal to the Galatians is referred to, wherein he affirms of the Gospel he preached, that he "neither received it of man, neither was taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Moreover, the Apostle states, that long after his conversion, he was without any intercourse with the Apostles. 'But it would have been 'futile to dwell upon such arguments as these, in proof of the 'originality and authority of his gospel, if his information might 'have been obtained from *a written document*:' had one existed, he must, in order to make his case good, have proved that it never came into his possession; and his total silence on so material a point, affords a strong presumption against its existence when he wrote this Epistle.

Mr. Greswell objects to this document-scheme as presenting a concatenation of improbabilities, in which scepticism and credulity have gone hand in hand. He conceives that the first and original Gospel, the only true *πρωτευαγγέλιον*, was St. Matthew's; that they were all composed in the order in which they stand; and that each of the three later Gospels was supplementary to the prior one.* Their mutual harmony and congruity, he argues, are among the most decisive criteria of truth, it being as impossible that the parts of the four Gospels could, by any arbitrary arrangements, be made consistent with each other, if not founded in truth, as that the atoms of Epicurus, by mutual collision,

* See Eclectic Review, 3d Series, Vol. ix. pp. 11—21.

could be shaken up into organized systems. As each Evangelist, according to Mr. Greswell's hypothesis, in addition to his proper narrative, adopts and virtually incorporates with his own, the narratives in existence before it, this mutual relation, instead of impairing the credibility of any one, wonderfully enhances it by the joint authority of all.

In the construction of his Harmony, Mr. Townsend has professedly followed Lightfoot, diligently availing himself, however, of the labours and suggestions of other scholars,—Chemnitius, Michaelis, Pilkington, and Doddridge. Lightfoot, in his beautiful preface to his first edition, now lying before us, has, in the style of his age, ingeniously compared the Gospel history to the veil of the Sanctuary, supported by four pillars, framed of several pieces of embroidery, differing in colours, but not in substance; various in workmanship, but not in the groundwork; constituting a perfect and sacred tapestry in the house of the Lord; and he proposes to unite and arrange these in one piece, and dispose them in their proper order. The method he prescribes to himself is '(1.) to lay the text of the Evangelists in that order which the nature and progresse of the story doth require: (2.) to give a reason of that order: (3.) to give some account of the difficulties of the language of the original, either being naturally so in the Greek itselfe, or being made difficulties, when they were not so, by the curiosity, misconstruction, and selfe-end seeking of some expositors: (4.) and lastly, to cleare and open the sense and meaning of the text, for which,' he adds, 'I also examined translations in divers languages.' Lightfoot, especially by his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on the New Testament, has contributed much to the elucidation of scripture phraseology, by enabling us to understand many of the forms of expression used, and the customs referred to, as a Jew would understand them. His collections are sometimes curious; and though his resemblances are too minute and fanciful, and require to be taken with some grains of allowance, (he having, like most discoverers, over estimated the value of his materials,) yet he has laid succeeding scholars under obligation to him for directing attention to this line of illustration and enquiry.

It is evident that sound principles of criticism are not less important in reference to the New, than to the Old Testament; and a competent acquaintance with the literature of the period in which the sacred writers flourished, where it can be obtained, appears to us of considerable importance both to the establishment, and to the application, of such principles. The truths of Divine Revelation are immutable; but the vehicle in which they are conveyed, and the modes of illustration by which they are enforced, are found to vary with the changing circumstances and aptitudes of the parties to whom they were first addressed. A judicious critic,

therefore, in endeavouring to arrive at the exact sense of the sacred penmen, has, like the student of other foreign and ancient authors, to allow for many peculiarities of style and diction, different from the usages of his own time and country, and sometimes to reduce the figurative language of poetry and eloquence nearer to the level of ordinary prose, before the sentiments intended to be conveyed can be fully apprehended by ordinary readers. But this course is not without its difficulties, since we are liable to err on either side, by allowing too much, or too little, for the imagery employed; hence, both scholarship and moral honesty may alike be put to the test. Yet, though difficult, the task is found to be quite practicable, and the reward is sure. These remarks apply, not only to the mode of instruction adopted by our Lord, but to the whole of the writings of the New Testament. Within the short space we can command, we shall content ourselves with adducing a few incidental instances, illustrative of the importance of giving attention to this kind of criticism, the great object of which is to enable us to place ourselves, as much as possible, in the position of those to whom the Scriptures were first addressed. The present Bishop of London published a valuable sermon some years ago, on the importance of some acquaintance with Jewish Tradition, in order to the correct interpretation of the New Testament; but the subject is by no means exhausted.

Besides the ordinary and familiar Hebraisms of Scripture, founded upon the peculiar idioms of the Jews, such as, "a son of perdition," "a son of consolation," "a son of peace," "children of light," "children of disobedience," "children of wrath," "living stones," "living waters," "living oracles," "living bread,"—intended to denote particular excellence or demerit in the persons or things referred to, we meet with many peculiar forms of expression, the force of which may be best illustrated by considering the sense which Jewish writers were accustomed to attach to them. For example, in commenting upon those emphatic phrases of the Apostle, "the world to come," "the new creation," "the new heavens," "the new earth," we may profitably remember that the Hebrews, by the formula, *this world*, or age, denoted the time before the coming of the Messiah, and by the *world* or age *to come*, the time under the Messiah's reign, and considered the economy he was about to introduce almost in the light of a new creation, in which old things were to pass away, and all to become new. The Jews expected, says Lightfoot, on these phrases, a great change of things when Messiah should come. Isaiah's prediction of a new heaven and a new earth, raised this expectation. Hence their writers have this saying: "The Holy blessed God will renew the world for a thousand years." St. John uses their own language when he speaks, Rev. xx. 4., of "reigning with Christ a thousand years." Hereupon they call the days of the Messiah,

“a new creation.” They likewise call that time, “the world to come,” because of the change of things they expected then, as if a new world were created: (Tancham, fol. 77. col. 3.) “In the *world to come* I will send my messenger speedily, and he shall prepare the way before me.” St. Paul takes the world to come in this sense, Hebrews ii. 5. “For unto the angels hath he not put into subjection *the world to come* of which we speak.”*

Schættgenius, who followed Lightfoot, and framed his “*Horæ Hebraicæ*” as a kind of continuation of the Talmudical Exercitations, remarks upon a similar form of expression, I Cor., x. 11. “Upon whom *the ends of the world*, or of the ages, are come,”—that Paul describes the men of his time as those on whom the boundaries, τὰ τέλη, of two worlds, or ages had met, of this world and that to come, of the old covenant and the new. So, in Hebrews ix. 26., “Now once in the *end of the world* hath he appeared.” Christ is said to have been revealed at the *confines of the ages*, where the end of this age or world, and the beginning of *that to come*, as it were, touch each other: a phrase which most exactly describes the time of the coming of the Messiah. The Apostle uses the plural, “ages,” and not the singular, to express these two periods; and συντέλεια, and not τέλος, to mark the junction of the two τέλη, the extremities of the periods†. Such passages, it is evident, cannot be completely understood by the literal and rigid translation of the Greek words; but attention is required also to the current and conventional sense, which the persons to whom the Apostle wrote, would be likely to attribute to these and similar terms.

The PARABLES of our Lord are, for the most part, founded upon some circumstances peculiar to the customs, or the prevalent opinions, of those who constituted his audience; and these should always be considered in connexion with his own explanation of his immediate design. Thus, the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, refers to the exaggerated estimate which the leading men among the Jews formed of their own boasted virtue, and to their contemptuous disregard of others, whom they considered as falling short of their standard of outward propriety, or of ritual observance: it is expressly said to be addressed to those “who trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others.” That of the Prodigal (Luke xv.) is of the same class, being addressed to the Pharisees who murmured against our Lord

* Lightfoot on Luke, iii. 4—6.

† Schættgenius Lex. N. T. αἰών et συντέλεια. Ejusd. Hor. Hebr. tom. ii. p. 27. See also Dr. Pye Smith's Scripture Testimony, p. 215, 220, 2d Edition; an invaluable work, of which Mr. Townsend has wisely availed himself, in numerous instances.

for "receiving sinners and eating with them." This parable, and the two others of that chapter, are introduced by the assertion, that "joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance." The expression, "who need no repentance," has been needlessly cumbered with difficulty, from the time of Chrysostom downwards, who thought it must refer to the unfallen angels; forgetting that, though there are none in this world so just as not to need repentance, there are many who, comparing themselves with others, may, like these absurd Pharisees, be disposed to think that they need none. The difficulty ceases, the moment we consider the rabbinical use of these and kindred terms, and the graduated scale of merit which the Jews appear for ages to have established among themselves; for, so early as Isaiah's time, they were rebuked by the Prophet for saying, "Stand by, I am holier than thou;" and God declared his intention of dwelling with those more humble and contrite spirits upon whom they looked with contumely and scorn.

The Jews, it would seem, from their own Writers, were accustomed to divide "just men" into two sorts. They that had been sinners, but had repented and become new men, they acknowledged to be "just men," in comparison with the wicked, and with what they had been before. But they who had not been sinners, or particularly faulty or vicious men, but had led a fair course of life, (like that young man in the Gospel who, according to his own account, had kept all the commandments from his youth,) they accounted good or holy men, *perfectly just men*. In illustration of this arbitrary distinction, Lightfoot refers to a custom which obtained among them at the feast of Tabernacles, while the temple stood, for some of the elders and grandees of the nation to meet at night in the temple, and sing such songs as these, which certainly savoured more of self-flattery than of devotion. Some of them sang this: 'Blessed be my youth that hath no way shamed my old age.' These, say they, were good and holy men, and that had been *men of good works*, from their first sprouting or growing. The others sang this: 'Blessed be my old age that hath made amends and expiated for my youth.' These latter, they said, were *men of repentance*; and they greatly undervalued these penitents, compared with the former class. Now, it is plain, that if the self-righteous Jews made these distinctions, and established such a scale of degrees among themselves, in estimating their personal worth, and even undervalued those of their own body who were called 'men of repentance,' they would be likely to treat with the utmost contempt those whom they deemed publicans and sinners; which accordingly they did. This was the spirit rebuked by our Lord. The Publican was at best, according to their theory, 'a

man of repentance,' and was despised by the Pharisee, who deemed himself a perfectly just and righteous man, his whole devotions consisting in a strain of self-exaltation, and his prayer, if prayer it could be called, being drawn up in the spirit of an indictment against his offending brother; "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, or even as this publican." The parable of the Prodigal is framed upon the same principle. The elder son who disdains his returning brother as 'a man of repentance,' and arrogates to himself superior and immaculate worth, exactly characterizes the proud and self-sufficient Pharisees, whose sentiments he imbodyes, and whose supercilious language he employs. In these exquisitely constructed apologues, our Lord reasons with them upon their own assumptions; supposing, not granting, that they possessed the excellencies to which they laid claim; and suggests that, if they were as perfect as they presumptuously assumed to be, they would have no reason to complain that a greater sinner was pardoned upon his repentance, but ought rather to rejoice, as God and angels did, over every such triumph of religious principle in a sinful world. But he crushes their own fancied fabric to the dust, by asserting that the conversion of one such sinner as they held in scorn, was of far higher account in the estimation of superior intelligences, than the feigned and defective moralities of a hundred such outwardly sanctimonious, but really hypocritical men as many of them were. "There is joy in heaven and among the angels of God, over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons," (such as they affected to be,) "who need no repentance." The words ἢ ἐπὶ ἐννεήκοντα ἑννέα, might have been rendered, not "more than" over the ninety and nine, but "rather than;" just as, in the other parable, the publican is said to go "down to his house justified, ἢ ἑκεῖνος, rather than the other."—Thus did our Lord effectually vindicate his own line of procedure in seeking the lost, rescue from the contempt of the world in all ages the subjects of genuine repentance, and hold up to deserved censure those arrogant pretenders to excessive sanctity, who, locked up in selfishness and pride, professed to be shocked and scandalized at the mercy and condescension displayed by the Redeemer of the world towards penitent and recovered transgressors. From this explanation, which clearly shews the genuine reference of the passage, we perceive the absurdity of applying the history of the prodigal to the calling of the Gentiles; and we learn that there are parts of the New Testament which we cannot fully understand as Christians, unless we endeavour first to understand them as Jews, by placing ourselves as nearly as possible in the position of those to whom the instructions were primarily addressed.

It has often been remarked by scholars, that no department of

knowledge is without its use to the faithful interpreter of Scripture. Even the uninviting study of the Roman Law may be rendered subsidiary to a right understanding of some portions of the sacred record, as frequent allusions are made in the book of Acts, and in the Epistles of St. Paul, himself "a Roman", to that ancient system of jurisprudence; especially in the case of citizenship, slavery, manumission, testamentary arrangements, and the adoption of strangers into the heirless families of the opulent. The custom of adoption, we may remark, was of Roman, not of Jewish origin, and is referred to by St. Paul to illustrate the great doctrines of our faith; particularly in Galatians iv. 5, and in Romans viii. 15. 17, where we are said to be "redeemed from the curse of the law, to receive the adoption of sons, to become heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ." To understand these allusions, it should be remembered, that, where there was a failure of natural offspring, the law of the TWELVE TABLES provided, that a stranger might be adopted into the race, in order that the family should be preserved from extinction, and the sacred rites and household gods be perpetuated*. The process was this. When a child (sometimes a slave) was to be adopted into the family of another, his own father took him, and presenting him before the magistrate, and five witnesses, who were Romans, he said, '*Mancipo tibi hunc filium qui meus est*': 'I make over to thee this my son.' Then the adopting father, holding a piece of money in his hand, and taking hold of the youth said, '*Hunc ego hominem jure Quiritium esse aio, isque mihi emptus est hoc ære*:' 'I declare this man to be my son, according to the law, and he is bought by this money', and then gave it to the father as the price of his son. This circumstance significantly illustrates St. Paul's expressions concerning our being redeemed by Christ, in order to our entering the family of God. The person thus adopted, was considered as much a member of this new family, as if it were his own naturally, and the collateral branches of it were viewed as sustaining the same relation towards him; he took the adopting father's name, possessed a legal right to the inheritance, and, though he might have been a

* "*Adoptivus originem hanc apud Romanos, fuisse censent doctores: quod cum unaquoque familia, sacra sua privata, focos et aras haberet, de quibus lege xii. Tab. tantum erat, sacra privata perpetua manento: omni ope nitebantur ne illa Sacra interirent: adeoque, deficiente prole naturali, curabant aliquem per adoptionem in suam gentem et familiam et sacra transire, ut per illam hæc sacra perpetuarentur.*" See Pothiers, edition of the Pandects of Justinian. Lib. I. Pandectar, Tit. vii. art. 1. vol. i. p. 24. See also Bp. Hallifax's analysis of the civil law. Master's memoirs of Thomas Baker, p. 110. Camb. 1784. Dr. A. Clarke's Discourses. Foreign Review.

slave before, now claimed the privileges and fearlessly cherished the hopes of a son, save that, in case of rebellion against his newly-acquired parent, he might be disinherited or put to death. The Apostle beautifully applies these particulars to the nobler distinctions and immunities of the children of God, when he says, "For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the spirit of adoption whereby ye cry Abba, Father: and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ."

Among other advantages incidental to the principle of arrangement adopted by Mr. Townsend, we hope that it will tend to break in upon the very idle practice of reading Scripture exclusively according to the customary divisions of the Bible into chapters and verses, of which Beza's Translation furnished the first instance in this country. Notwithstanding our respect for these arbitrary divisions, having been familiarized with them from childhood, and though, no doubt, they are favourable to a more prompt and easy reference, we fear that they have contributed to the misapprehension of some important passages and sections of Scripture. Who would not be incensed to see Milton's *Paradise Lost* parcelled out into chapters and verses after the manner in which that finest poem of antiquity, the book of Job, has been 'set forth' in our common bibles? We quite agree with Mr. Locke, that if any one were to write us a letter as long as that of St. Paul to the Romans, and upon such mixed and controverted topics, and we were to divide it into fifteen or sixteen chapters, reading one to-day and another to-morrow, it is very possible that we should never come to a clear and full comprehension of it. Could an accurate *census* be taken of the living men and women who have read that Epistle continuously through at one sitting, the numbers would probably be found extremely small; and, perhaps, there are but few who have ever endeavoured to trace for themselves the course of the thoughts, and accurately to analyse the scope of the argument, which it is almost impossible to do with success, if confining ourselves to a single chapter at a time. The division is sometimes made in the very midst of the argument, and the Apostle is unceremoniously interrupted when in the act of drawing his own conclusions from the facts and premises he had laid down; as any one may see by looking at the close of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth, chapter to the Romans, where the fact mentioned in the last verse of the one chapter, that our Lord "was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification," is evidently the basis of the conclusion stated in the first verse of the next, "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God." Mr. Townsend has divided the Epistle into short and appropriate paragraphs; but we should have

been glad, had his plan permitted, to see the course of argument more distinctly marked out, which it is often difficult to the ordinary reader to detect, on account of the various digressions the Apostle found it needful to make, in order to anticipate or remove the objections of various classes of opponents. The scheme adopted by Piscator, in his Latin commentary upon the Bible, has many advantages. He first divides the chapter into distinct sections, giving a copious analysis of its leading contents: he next furnishes *scholia* of Greek criticism upon each verse, sometimes extending to several columns: and afterwards introduces general observations upon the chief points of doctrine or of duty contained in the chapter.

The Epistle to the Romans has always been considered as the fullest and most argumentative exposition which the New Testament contains of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; and it has accordingly been regarded with much distaste by those who hold those doctrines in disesteem; some of whom have unblushingly expressed the indevout wish that it had never been written, and others would seem to have tried all the arts of criticism, falsely so called, to reduce and neutralize its unwelcome testimony. Our Author has truly characterized it as a 'master-piece of beautiful reasoning, surpassing all human wisdom. It evidently bears the stamp of Divine inspiration, gradually unfolding the great mysteries of redemption, and fully displaying the wisdom and goodness of God in his dispensations to man.' The Apostle not having been at Rome, the document may be considered at once as a substitute for his preaching, and as a model of it, illustrating also the manner in which so distinguished a man thought fit to bring the claims of Christianity before the inhabitants of that great metropolis. Personally unknown to them, he puts nothing upon authority, but confides all to argument; yet, not with the aspect of a pleader, who has a cause to make good, and suffrages to gain, but with the noble confidence of one who speaks experienced truth, and who knew that the religion he advocated was able to conquer the conquerors of the world. "So much as is in me, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you that are at ROME also."—We lose something of the force of this appeal, by considering what that city now is, the skeleton of its former greatness, rather than what it then was, the enthroned seat and residence of that dominant power which held the rest of mankind in awe. Even now, after the desolation of centuries has past over her, there is an air of grandeur in the silent vestiges that remain of the departed majesty of ancient Rome:—

'Thy very weeds are beautiful.....

Thy wreck a glory, and thy ruin graced

With an immaculate charm, that cannot be defaced!

But in the time of the Apostle, Rome presented a far different spectacle. Fresh from her triumph over the most celebrated empires of antiquity, the arbitress of the destinies of more than half the globe, she bore her brow aloft, sitting "as a queen and no widow," whilst her illustrious sons, her men of science, her scholars, her poets, her philosophers, her historians, were contributing to make her as renowned for literature, as she had been already celebrated for martial prowess. The intellectual splendour of the Augustan age left its living brightness, like a rich sunset, long to linger in her yet unclouded sky; and with her sister Athens, she could number a host of eminent men, distinguished by every thing that attracts worldly admiration, and possessed of every form of wisdom, except the wisdom that is from above. To the inhabitants of this city, in its most high and palmy state, Paul was anxious to bring the Gospel, with the knowledge that, in doing this, he should prove the greatest of benefactors. We know not which more to admire, the uncompromising spirit with which he advocates the truth of Divine Revelation, or the fearless intrepidity with which he proves the need of its renovating influences, by a powerful demonstration of their ignorance, and by an unsparing rebuke of those enormous vices which all their boasted philosophy had been unable to extirpate or even to hold in check. Dark as the portraiture is, of the demoralized state of society among them, the truth of the likeness has been, as every one knows, more than confirmed by their own satirist, Juvenal, whose pen has added, if possible, deeper shades to a picture unrelieved by any touch of beauty or any gleam of redeeming brightness.

It is necessary to take these and other associated circumstances into consideration, in order to form a correct estimate of the contents of the Epistle, and to guard against a too limited view of the Writer's design, from that habit of hasty generalization which induces idle or sanguine minds to leap to a conclusion before the whole evidence is sufficiently weighed. We must frankly aver our long cherished conviction, that scarcely anything has contributed more to fetter inquiry into the genuine meaning of the apostolical Epistles, or to abridge the usefulness of some of our best biblical scholars, than a tame submission to the shallow and unsupported assumption advocated by Taylor of Norwich, in what he absurdly called a Key to the Epistle, and adopted by Mr. Belsham, by Dr. Priestley, by Semler, and other writers of the same school. They contend that the peculiar terms employed by the sacred writers, such as redemption, justification, salvation, election, the life of faith, the being created anew, and various others, are used in mere *accommodation* to the history and language of the Old Testament, (to conciliate the Jews, in fact,) and *not* as symbols or direct representations of the permanent

and essential truths and realities of the Christian scheme of mercy. Mr. Belsham expresses himself thus:—‘ Those terms which ‘ were formerly applied to the state and privileges of the Israelites, ‘ are now used to express the state and privileges of Christian believers !’ As thus expressed, the principle seems simple and innocuous enough ; but, as the strongest poisons are said to have been conveyed in milk, or through the odour of a rose, we can assure our readers that, in skilful hands, this “ angel-of-light ” proposition has proved a successful instrument for neutralizing and explaining away some of the most important verities of holy writ, particularly those of the atonement of Christ and the influences of the Holy Spirit. These doctrines are thus compendiously resolved by Mr. Belsham into Jewish metaphors ;—‘ instances of loose, allegorical, and verbal reasoning, evidently inconclusive, and in the present enlightened age altogether discarded,—but probably well adapted to the crude conceptions ‘ and inveterate prejudices of the simple and illiterate Hebrews.’ Dr. Priestley (on the Hebrews) says: ‘ Did the Jews pride ‘ themselves in their temple, their altar, their sacrifices, and their ‘ high priest ? The Writer of this epistle finds in the Christian ‘ system a temple, an altar, a sacrifice, and an high priest, superior ‘ to theirs, so that the former were only types of what followed. ‘ But, as I have frequently observed, though arguments of this ‘ kind were calculated to make an impression upon Jews, they are ‘ not only of no use to us, who have no Jewish prejudices to remove, but, if we be not upon our guard, they may mislead us, by ‘ teaching us to look for something more than a figurative resemblance in them.’* These critics would have us believe, that St. Paul had no higher object than to put the Heathen convert upon a level with the Jew, and to reconcile the Hebrew Christians to the admission of the Gentiles to a confraternity of privileges with themselves. Now we submit that, if this were indeed all, the Apostle was singularly unfortunate in his choice of words and arguments to express his meaning ; and equally so in not finding, till these latter days, commentators worthy of him, who, like the critics that could see ‘ in Homer more than Homer knew,’ are able to tell us not only what Paul did mean and say, but what he ought to have meant and said. It seems a strange thing to assert of a book purporting to be a Divine revelation, that, without the correctives furnished by a man who questions not a few of its leading positions, its arguments are as likely to ‘ mislead ’ as to instruct us. Some may think, however, that the corrector needs to be corrected, and that a new Bible would be requisite to explain the explanations ! But the subject is too serious for ridicule.

* Dr. Priestley's Notes, Heb. iv. 13.

We object to this hypothesis, as explained by its authors, that its tendency is to make Judaism every thing, and Christianity nothing; to depose Christ from his pre-eminence, and exalt Moses in his place; to convert the Jewish dispensation into the grand reality, and the Gospel into the mere shadow; and to reduce all that has been deemed peculiarly characteristic of the Gospel, to little more than a balancing of words and phrases between the old religion and the new, between the Prophets and the Apostles on the one hand, and the Synagogue and the Pantheon on the other. This theory, in fact, it has justly been observed, makes Christianity nothing more than 'an Appendix to Judaism;' it 'explains the greater by the less, and represents the law as the original and enduring dispensation, the *κτῆμα ἐς αἰτί*, 'while the Gospel is a mere dependency upon it.'* The question is not, whether the events of the Old Testament history are referred to in the New, as illustrative of Christian doctrines and privileges, but whether they are alluded to in the manner in which these writers assume. We know that there is a near and intimate connection between the two dispensations, for not only does Christianity suppose Judaism, but Judaism supposes Christianity: the relation, however, between the law and the gospel is not as the greater to the less, (which the hypothesis supposes,) but as the less to the greater. The Mosaic economy is to the Christian system, as infancy to manhood, as the blossom to the fruit, as the dawn to the day, as the shadow to the substance, the one being preparatory to the other; the latter filling up the outline, and completing the promise of the former. Dr. Priestley himself cannot conceal his impression, that the Scriptures, taken in their direct and literal sense, 'teach us to expect something 'more than a figurative resemblance' between the two economies. We believe they do; but the admission is fatal to his own interpretation, which, instead of making the law our schoolmaster to bring us to CHRIST, would make it a delusive guide to lead us away from him.

This scheme too, carried fully out, would destroy the hope of the Jew, as well as neutralize that of the Christian. For, if the death of Christ possess not, in reality, a sacrificial character, if it be not 'a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world,' but has been so called only in imitation of the phraseology of the Mosaic ritual, and 'to conciliate the prejudices of the Hebrews,' then it follows, that the Apostle has given a false view of both religions, knowing it to be false;—that the just anticipations of the pious among the Jews, founded upon their own

* Quarterly Review, No. LIX. (Oct. 1823.) Art. IV. Belsham's Translation of Paul's Epistles.

prophecies, have been sported with and frustrated ;—that the consistency of the Old Testament, equally with that of the New, has been destroyed, and Judaism itself, as well as Christianity, reduced to little better than a cunningly devised fable. How all this was to conciliate the Jew, who was quite as likely to detect the fallacy as any Unitarian of the present day, we profess ourselves at a loss to divine ; and the most it proposed to do for the Gentile, was to carry him back to the darkness of the Sinai covenant, and baptize him into the cloud of Moses. Upon this shewing, the Jew, in accepting Christianity, takes nothing by the change whatever ; continuing at best, in point of theology, where he was before the Messiah's approach ; and that great blessing, the very shadow of which made the body of the patriarchal and Jewish religion, ' a blessing after which the whole earth panted ' as the hart for the water-brooks,' for four thousand years, resolves itself at last into this—that the terms and phrases of the Levitical law are, without the slightest addition of advantage, to be verbally accommodated to the vocabulary of Christianity, and to form part of a scheme for the *mystification* of the Gentile world, till Mr. Belsham and Dr. Priestley should arise, much too late, to set the world right ! In a word, this scheme of interpretation appears to us to impose a meaning upon the Apostle's words foreign to the entire scope of his argument, and to be as worthless in point of criticism as it is unsound in theology.

The obvious design of the Epistle to the Hebrews is, to answer the objection of the Jews, that Christianity had abrogated the splendid ritual and sacrifices of the law, confessedly of Divine institution, without presenting any thing more valuable in their place ; which objection the Apostle triumphantly meets, by demonstrating, from their own prophetic writings, that those rites and sacrifices were originally intended to adumbrate some of the essential doctrines of the Christian system, and were completely realized and fulfilled in the atonement offered by Christ, their predicted Messiah, and in the spiritual blessings of pardon, renovation, and eternal life, which he died to secure, and lives to bestow. Upon this principle, his argument is clear, consistent with itself, and likely to be convincing ; but, upon the hypothesis of these critics, it would appear to be a tissue of incoherency, if not of fraud, far more likely to incense an acute Jew, than to attract him, assigning an arbitrary and fictitious meaning to the old religion, and mocking him in the new with an artful substitution of sound for sense, and of words for things ! He would be the first to perceive the dead fly in this fine pot of ointment, and to feel that the Apostle had paltered with him in a double sense, keeping the word of promise to the ear, but breaking it to the hope ; a mode of proceeding which, how coincident soever it might be with the spirit and practices of some modern theolo-

gians, was not very likely to be adopted by the distinguished pupil of Gamaliel, when writing, under Divine inspiration, upon the most momentous of all subjects, to some of the acutest disputants of the age in which he lived.

We are happy to find Mr. Townsend strongly protesting against the absurdity of this scheme.

‘I reject,’ he says, ‘the hypothesis of Semler, and of Taylor of Norwich, as well as the reasonings of his follower, Mr. Belsham, who would destroy the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, by endeavouring to prove that the terms and phrases which are used by St. Paul have an exclusive reference to the disputes of the Apostolic age, respecting the admission of the Gentiles into the church of God, and are therefore to be interpreted as alluding only to the privileges of the visible church. While it must be allowed, that the existing controversy between the Jews and the Apostles, on this point, ought to be kept in view, whenever the chief epistles are studied, we shall utterly mistake the nature of *that sublimer object* which the Deity proposed, when he gave inspiration to his servants, if we attempt to confine their teaching and arguments to the advantages of a visible church, and to the impartation to the idolatrous Gentiles of a purer system of morality.’

Vol. I. p. lii.

What that object was, St. Paul has happily, in his various Epistles, left us at no loss to determine. In the outset of the Epistle to the Romans, he has fixed with great exactitude the thesis he proposed to illustrate, where he professes to shew cause why he should not be ashamed of the Gospel; for which he assigns this capital reason, that it was “the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth, unto the Jew first, and also to the Greek.” He proceeds to shew the equal exposure of Jew and Gentile to the sentence and penalty of that law, which both had violated; the Jew having broken the law of Moses, the Gentile that of conscience engraven upon the heart; and his design plainly was, not to convert heathens into Jews, or to reconcile the one to a confraternity with the other, but to convert both into Christians. Then, as the phrase Jew and Greek, is the well-known periphrasis for all mankind, a child may see that, in the conduct of the argument, the Apostle has to do with human nature, as such, in all its varieties; with the acknowledged fact of man’s moral depravity, (of which heathen degeneracy is only one of the various forms,) with the burden of a long-existing controversy between a holy God and his apostate offspring, and with the wonderful expedient which Infinite Wisdom has originated for bringing that controversy to an issue, by the death of Christ as an atonement for our sins, and by the influences of the Spirit renewing the Divine image upon the mind.

To resolve all this into a mere transition from a profession of

heathenism to a profession of Christianity, we hold to be miserable logic, and worse divinity; and to suppose that, in those sublime passages of the New Testament, in which the necessity of spiritual renovation is so decisively spoken of, nothing more can be meant than receiving idolaters within the pale of the visible church, by the outward rite of baptism, is to deprive words of their meaning, and to trifle with the common sense of mankind. Far from illustrating the superior glory of the new dispensation, this scheme would reduce us beneath the level of the Jewish church; for Judaism itself fully recognizes the paramount importance of Divine influence to effect that transformation of character to which no inferior power is equal; as our Lord, arguing with the rabbi Nicodemus upon the subject of the new birth, most cogently urges—"Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" When David prays, "Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me," he certainly asks for something more than could be realized by a formal transition from one creed to another, or than all the sacrifices and appliances of his own law, considered as mere forms, could possibly achieve. When God promises to Israel by Ezekiel,—“A new heart will I give thee, and a new spirit will I put within thee, and cause thee to walk in my statutes,” we must believe, unless this be a mockery of human intellect and human hope, that those measures of Divine influence should be accorded to the suppliant, which are requisite to restore the lost image of God, and effectually to incline the bias of the mind to his holy and happy service. Yet, upon the miserable theory under discussion, when similar expressions are employed in the New Testament, they are to be applied almost exclusively to Pagan idolaters, and to a transition from the gross enormities of the worship of Venus, or Astarte, to the purer morality of the later dispensation! Surely when the prayer is offered, that ‘God from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, would give unto his servants that peace which the world cannot give;’ or, when it is supplicated, that ‘we being regenerate, and rendered God’s children by adoption and grace, may *daily* be *renewed* by the Holy Spirit,’—something far higher and more spiritual is referred to than a mere external or national conversion, as from Druidism to Popery, or from Popery to the Protestant faith! We cannot but remark in passing, how few of the more eminent modern divines have attempted to exhibit the difficult, but all-important subject of Divine agency upon the mind, in a practical and devotional manner; freeing it from the wildness of enthusiasm on the one hand, and from the coldness of a semi-infidelity on the other; and teaching us, upon Scripture grounds, what to pray for, and what to expect from above, in prosecuting the great

business of our salvation. Paley, Horsley, Heber, and Dr. Chalmers, (in his Tron Church volume,) has each a sermon or two upon the topic; and one of the most valuable productions of the late Robert Hall is upon the work of the Spirit; but these are few, considering its vital importance. Mr. Townsend, who writes so earnestly upon the Atonement, does not appear to us to do justice to this great subject. One of the chief instances, indeed, of perplexed theology which we have noticed in these volumes, occurs upon this point, when he discusses the conversion of St. Paul (Vol. II. pp. 93—96.); a passage which we would recommend to the Author's reconsideration, as his line of argument might be applied, by an opponent of the truth, to purposes foreign, as we hope, to his own object in writing it.

Sir Joshua Reynolds somewhere remarks, that 'the history of errors, properly managed, shortens the road to truth.' This is our reason for referring at more length than it deserves, to the untenable hypothesis in question; for we are anxious to call the attention of our readers to the subject, and to guard intelligent inquirers in theology against being entangled in the meshes of a fallacious theory, at the outset of their researches. We have done this also, not certainly from any excessive respect for the opinions of its leading advocates, but because we extremely regret to observe that, from the time of Mr. Locke, writers of a better school have built too much upon this defective principle of interpretation, in expounding the epistles, apparently without being aware of the doubtful company they were in, and of the exact direction in which they were travelling. Some Divines have probably been betrayed into an inadvertent acquiescence in this theory, by the air of simplicity it assumes, by the facilities it seems to afford for silencing an objector, or evading a difficulty, and perhaps from the help they hoped to derive from it against the ultra-Calvinists, whose sentiments they prefer to get rid of by a side-wind, rather than meet the question by manly and direct argument. Truth, however, abhors all disingenuousness and all compromise, light being her native element; and if a generous mind would deem itself dishonoured by an attempt to support a good cause by unjustifiable means, much less should we press upon another an argument which does not convince ourselves, or think to remove the offence of the Cross, as some have done, by taking away the Cross itself! It may no doubt be very convenient for a novice in theology, when perplexed with the question of human depravity and condemnation, to say that St. Paul meant only to exhibit the enormities of Pagan idolatry; and when he meets in his Greek Testament, with the great doctrines of faith and justification, of grace, renovation, and holiness, to aver that all this relates to the putting off the slough of heathenism, and the

putting on the garb of Christianity, by the waters of baptism. But the man of maturer wisdom, accustomed to weigh evidence, will not fail to begin at the beginning, and to inquire whether it be so absolutely certain that the Apostle could not possibly mean more than this; whether this solution be sufficient to meet all the facts of the case, and to answer the conditions of the argument; whether, though we admit it to be a part, it is not a very subordinate part of his design; and above all, whether, if this were all that he meant, or that Christianity designs, it might not have been expressed in a far less circuitous manner, and the objects of the Divine economy have been accomplished without so costly an apparatus of means as the Christian revelation exhibits.

In the present times, moreover, when much is heard of the growth of Popery, peculiar importance must be attached to this controversy, for whatever obscures the leading doctrines of Christianity, tends to sap the foundations of the Protestant faith. If it be true, as we think might be shewn, that this method of disposing of the more spiritual doctrines of Christianity has been adopted by the supporters of opposite and erroneous systems,—by Unitarians on the one hand, and by Roman Catholic and Pelagian divines on the other,—we submit whether the advocates of a purer faith can safely rely upon a principle of interpretation which appears to conduct to such different results parties equally unfriendly to the doctrines of the Reformation. It is more than doubtful if the first Reformers, or the writers of the Homilies, or Hooker in his noble discourse on Justification, would have been able to maintain, as they did, the distinguishing truths of the Gospel, had they been fettered by this assumed and restrictive scheme. Upon the two fundamental doctrines of expiation by the cross of Christ, and renovation by the agency of the Holy Spirit, not Protestantism only, but the quenchless and immortal hope of innumerable minds, is made to depend; and Christianity itself derives its supreme title to regard, from the manner in which, by these essential truths, the great exigency of the moral world, produced by the awful catastrophe of sin, is met and relieved. With the uncompromising advocacy of these principles, Protestantism began; with the neglect of them it must inevitably decline; and any attempt to throw them into the shade, or to weaken their influence upon the mind, in order to conciliate worldly men, must signally fail. We have often felt surprise that those who go all lengths with the Arminian hypothesis, as Bishop Tomline did in his work on Calvinism, should be so little aware how nearly they approximate in sentiment to the theology of the Romish church. An eminent modern writer, in his notice of that work, acutely observes: ‘It may save the trouble of a more ample exposition, to make the general remark, that, on the subjects of the terms of acceptance with God, and

‘ the nature of regeneration, grace, and sanctification, the doctrine of the Church of Rome, (abstracting the ceremonial peculiarity,) is the very system which a prelate of the English Church has, with no small assuming, and with the most disgraceful ignorance of theology, laboured to make out to be the doctrine of the Church of England, in a book which he has been pleased to entitle *A Refutation of Calvinism*. The possessor of that book may felicitate himself on having a very fair compendium of Roman Catholic divinity.’*

We cannot, therefore, quietly stand by, and see the important realities of the Christian system either impugned by its avowed enemies, or neutralized by its mistaken friends, without raising our voice against the evil, and demanding at least that the principles of criticism, and the processes of argumentation employed, be sound and unimpeachable. But those hitherto adduced, appear to us, for the reasons assigned, to be very far from satisfactory, and such as no accomplished classic would at all admit, in explaining the language, or in developing the course of thought, of any Greek author. It may be worthy of a question, whether the hasty and superficial manner in which some of the weightiest questions in theology seem to have been decided upon, would be tolerated for a moment in estimating the amount of evidence upon a doubtful point of law, or in treating of a litigated subject connected with philosophy or science, by any person who had a reputation to make, or to lose. Few persons, perhaps, have given the same amount of attention to St. Paul’s Epistles in the course of a life, as Newton bestowed upon the examination of a single ray of light, let in from day to day through the crevices of his window-shutter, for scientific purposes; but men who know themselves too well to dogmatize upon unsettled points of philosophical investigation, such as the rival theories of light or the recent systems of Geology, make little scruple in pronouncing *ex cathedrâ* upon some of the more mysterious subjects of Divine revelation, without having advanced beyond the alphabet of biblical criticism. Indications, however, of more enlightened views in reference to the study of Scripture, are not wanting among the more eminent scholars of our times. One of the incidental advantages which we may hope to derive from the unguarded assumptions of the Neologians of the Continent, is, that some of the canons of Biblical criticism which have long passed current and unchallenged amongst us, will be reconsidered; and intelligent men, convinced of the affinity which sub-

* *Reasons of the Protestant Religion; A Sermon*; by John Pye Smith, D.D. London, 1815. See also an able reply to Bishop Tomline, entitled “*Modern Calvinism considered*,” by the late Dr. Edward Williams, of Rotherham.

sists between different forms of error, will be induced to fix their principles a little more clearly, and to keep within the safe lines of well-ascertained truth. This is a part of that contingent of good which the rashness of speculative error is, however reluctantly, compelled to bring in to the cause of eternal truth; and which, like some precious pearl thrown upon the shore by the storm, may be more than a compensation for all the hazard incurred, and all the toil undergone.

Upon the much controverted subject of the Book of Revelation, we can but offer a remark or two. This closing book of Scripture is, in many respects, the most remarkable of the whole, and has excited in every age a great share of attention. Some are for ever speculating upon it, as though they hoped to remove the veil which covers the unknown future; forgetting that prophecy was given, not to raise us to the rank of prophets, but to prove that God foresees and regulates events to come. Others, observing the failure of some of the ablest men in endeavouring to decipher its hieroglyphics, have given up the task in despair. Calvin and Whitby were reputed wise in not meddling with it; and Voltaire contemptuously observed of Sir Isaac Newton, that, as he had risen above the rest of the world in his philosophical discoveries, he had made the balance even by writing a Commentary upon the Revelations! We would, with all deference and humility, protest against both these extremes. It becomes us to study every part of the written word, feeling quite sure that no superfluous communications have been made from God to man; but that, as "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," its entire contents cannot but be "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, or correction, or instruction in righteousness." Freely as we have condemned the rashness and empiricism of some modern speculators, in preceding pages, we yet think that the Christian Church should never intermit the study of prophecy, but endeavour to derive, even from the failure of the incompetent, fresh motives to humble, patient, and devout investigation.

Mr. Townsend, referring to the different theories of interpretation that have been adopted, observes:

' Mr. Faber has supposed that much of the imagery of the Revelations is taken from the ancient mysteries; and Eichhorn has represented it as a drama: and the most strange and singular opinions have prevailed respecting its plan and interpretation. Though I have adopted that system of explanation which represents the continued superintendence of God over his Church, there are four other principal hypotheses:

' First. The Apocalypse, in the opinion of Wetstein, contains a prophetic description of the destruction of Jerusalem, of the Jewish war, and the civil wars of the Romans.

' The second is the general opinion of the fathers; that it contains

predictions of the persecutions of the Christians under the heathen emperors of Rome, and of the happy days of the Church under the Christian emperors, from Constantine downwards.

‘The third is adopted by the generality of Protestant writers; that it contains prophecies concerning the tyrannical and oppressive conduct of the Roman pontiffs, the true antichrist; and foretells the final destruction of popery.

‘The fourth is adopted on the other side, by the papal writers, that it is a prophetic declaration of the schism and heresies of Martin Luther, those called Reformers, and their successors; and the final destruction of the Protestant religion.

‘This fourth has been illustrated and defended at large by Bishop Walmsley, in a work called the *History of the Church*, under the feigned name of Signor Pastorini: in which he endeavours to turn every thing against Luther and the Protestants, which they interpreted of the Pope and Popery; and attempts to shew, from a computation of the apocalyptical numbers, that the total destruction of Protestantism in the world will take place in 1825, or 1828!

‘The plan of Wetstein is the most singular of all these. He supposes the book of the Apocalypse to have been written a considerable time before the destruction of Jerusalem. The events described from the fourth chapter to the end, he supposes to refer to the Jewish war, and to the civil commotions which took place in Italy, while Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, were contending for the empire. These contentions and destructive wars occupied the space of about three years and a half, during which, Professor Wetstein thinks, the principal events took place which are recorded in this book.’

Vol. II. pp. 632, 633.

These four hypotheses may be regarded as generally reducible to two; that which supposes the prophecies of the book to have been long ago fulfilled, and that which considers them as co-extensive in their development with the future history of the world. The first of these, that of Wetstein, which has been partially revived, though under widely different modifications, by Professor Lee, appears to us liable to various and insuperable objections, which we can only cursorily indicate.

The Prophecies of the Apocalypse, especially when considered in connection with those of Daniel and Isaiah, are far too comprehensive and magnificent for so inconsiderable and limited an accomplishment as that furnished by the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, and the civil wars of Rome. The events, therefore, do not answer to the prediction: and the feeling that nothing has yet occurred upon the theatre of time since the incarnation of Christ, commensurate with the grandeur of the prophetic anticipations, has always kept the minds of good men in a state of suspense and expectation, with reference to the future prospects of the church. There are also special circumstances and allusions, throughout these prophecies, which are admirably descriptive of later events, but which peremptorily exclude the hypothesis of so early a

fulfilment. With regard even to the date of St. John's prophecy, we prefer, as most probable, the theory which assigns it to a period later than the event in question. Some authorities suppose it to have been written in the year 96, long after the devoted city was destroyed by Titus. Then again, the plainest of these prophecies, those which relate to the seven churches, appear evidently to carry us, for their complete accomplishment, to a period some ages later than the overthrow of Jerusalem. Gibbon himself, struck by the coincidence between these predictions and the later history of the seven churches, traces the alleged fulfilment of them in the invasion of the Saracens and Ottomans, as late as the *twelfth century*: and says emphatically, that Philadelphia stood erect, a column amidst ruins, and 'was saved by *prophecy*, 'or by *courage*;' thus, with the usual consistency of infidelity, sneering at the prophecy, whilst his own pen records its accomplishment. Incidental references likewise occur in the Revelation, to parts of the world which were quite unconnected with the struggles of Judea or of Rome; and we meet with various symbolical allusions, which could, by no reasonable association, be connected with the events in question; such as the account of the Euphratean horsemen, and the kings of the East, and the elaborate description of the doom of Babylon. It may also be observed, that this mode of explanation does not harmonize with the general scheme of prophecy, which, commencing at the earliest period of the history of man, carries him along the stream of time through successive ages, with a light constantly increasing, and was not likely, we should say, *à priori*, to stop suddenly at the period of the siege of Jerusalem. We should require very strong evidence to set aside this argument, which at all events has not yet been produced.

For these and other reasons we dismiss this hypothesis as altogether unsatisfactory, and prefer the ordinary view of this closing book; considering it as designed to supply the place of a continued succession of prophets in the Christian Church, and extending, in its range of events, from the ascension of Christ to the consummation of all things. In our judgement, it peculiarly attests the glory of Christ as Mediator, being intended to foreshadow and disclose the spread of his Gospel in the world, the various fortunes of his Church through successive ages, the final subjugation of all opposing influences to the sceptre of his authority, and the eternal happiness of the subjects of his moral dominion. It thus forms a sublime close to the wonderful series of Divine dispensations, and is in perfect harmony with the entire contents of the inspired volume. We must be permitted to add, that the failure and disappointment resulting from speculations on this book, appear to have been occasioned by the fact, that they have too often

been prosecuted in a spirit of vain and unhallowed curiosity, rather than from a desire to derive from it those moral and spiritual lessons which it is eminently calculated to afford. The overruling providence of God, extending over all beings and all worlds; the subordination of every event to the progress of the kingdom of Christ; the necessity of faithfulness and purity in the Church; the certainty of the coming judgement, and the irrevocable character of the decisions of eternity;—these are truths of infinite moment, and stand out in full relief, independently of particular explanations.

The latest work we have seen upon this book, is that of Dr. Seiler, who divides the Apocalypse, from the sixth chapter to the end, into two divisions, and considers that ‘the grand subject is ‘the overthrow of JUDAISM, from chapter vi. to x., and of PAGANISM, from chapter xi. to the end, by the triumphant King of the ‘divine kingdom. What the prophets of the Old Testament had ‘announced, was only the commencement, in a slight degree, of ‘the glory of God, and of his kingdom upon earth; it remained ‘for John to complete the oracle’. Dr. Heringa, his able Editor, adds: ‘It occurs to me, that in the last four chapters, it is not ‘so much the triumph of Jesus over the heathens that is particularly signified, as a more general triumph over all his enemies ‘which triumph will, according to the prediction of Jesus and his ‘apostles, end in the general judgment of all the children of Adam, ‘in the punishment of all who have opposed him, and in the salvation of all who have been his genuine friends and confessors.’* We propose not to examine this theory, but quote the passage to shew, that distinguished continental scholars, some of whom are more inclined to reduce than to exaggerate the amount of Scripture testimony, yet consider the limited hypothesis of Wetstein and others as much too insignificant to accord with the terms of St. John’s inspired statements. They also support our opinion, that the predictions of the Apocalypse, far from having their accomplishment at the close of the Jewish war, or of the Apostolic age, form a part of that vast scheme of prophecy which began with man’s apostasy, and shall run on to the close of time. An argument of some incidental moment might be derived from the nature of the composition itself, in favour of the great subjects to which we consider it as referring. Amidst all the pomp and grandeur of the style which they employ, compared with which the highest efforts of Persian and Arabian authors appear at once inflated and poor, the sacred writers never substitute words for things, but always adapt their most raised and figurative expressions to the true greatness and sublimity of the sub-

* *Biblical Hermeneutics*, by G. F. Seiler, D.D., pp. 554. 557.

jects they propose to illustrate. We cannot think, therefore, that so lavish an expenditure of intellectual wealth and power would be employed upon any secondary or inferior theme; and can conceive of nothing answerable to the majesty of these inspired predictions, short of the moral glory of the Saviour's mediatorial kingdom on earth, rising upon the ruins of every hostile power, and the *final* development of the joys and terrors of the coming eternity.

We cannot take leave of these volumes without congratulating the Author, that, by his devotedness to the studies peculiar to his profession, he has already secured to himself an honourable place in the permanent literature of his country,—a thing of no easy acquisition in these times. Upon some points, it will not be surprising that we have been compelled to differ from him in opinion; yet, deeming his Arrangement calculated to facilitate and promote the critical investigation of Scripture, we have not allowed our difference upon other and collateral points to interfere with our general estimate of the work. We should not even refer to topics of this kind, but that our silence might mislead our readers, who have a right to ask from us a fair account of what they are really to expect in volumes which we introduce to their notice. They will find in Mr. Townsend a strenuous supporter of the exclusive claims of Episcopacy, and that to such an extent, that, if we adopted his principles, we scarcely see how we could stop short of Rome itself. The cast of his theological sentiments may be judged of by the following avowal, which we give in his own words.

‘By certain of our brethren, the Calvinistic tenets are deemed to be signally developed in parts of the Epistles. And it is natural that persons regarding those tenets, not merely as religious verities, but as the basis of Christian comfort and of Christian usefulness, should be led to think and to speak of the Epistles as containing the previously undisplayed perfection of Christianity. A deliberate, and, as I would humbly hope, an honest comparison of “things spiritual with spiritual,” (1 Cor. ii. 13,) has not discovered to me Calvinistic tenets in any part of the sacred volume. But our brethren, who have formed an opposite conclusion concerning the divine plan of redemption, may be the more easily induced to an exact appreciation of the Epistles, when they recollect that there are various passages in the Old Testament and in the Gospels, which the Calvinistic divines consider as satisfactory proofs of their own system.’ Vol. II. p. 212.

Our views upon these subjects are so well known, that we need not now pause further to discuss them. We therefore content ourselves, on the present occasion, with simply expressing our dissent from Mr. Townsend's opinions on these points; only remarking, that extended discussions upon the *vexatæ quæstiones* of ecclesiastical rule and discipline, however proper in professedly controversial productions, seem to us somewhat out of

place in a work like this. It is due to him to add, that his views are presented without acrimony or bitterness, or any of the qualities likely to offend those who differ from him.

The Author, we have sometimes regretted, has for the most part omitted remarks of a practical and devotional nature, and left various important points of criticism and theology unconsidered. Indeed, our own illustrations have chiefly turned upon topics which he has wholly omitted, or but slightly touched. We doubt not, however, that his Chronological Arrangement will long continue to be referred to as an authority upon the subjects on which he treats, and will probably be honoured as the means of originating some future efforts upon a similar plan; just as Dr. Lightfoot and his contemporary Torshell, have found an able continuator of their biblical labours in the learned and eloquent Prebendary of Durham. The work must have occupied the toil of years; and we should rejoice to see other and matured contributions to the cause of biblical literature, from the same practised and facile pen.

Among the more pleasing signs of the times, symptomatic of something good, and ominous of something better, may be mentioned the increased attention which is paid to whatever is likely to promote the advancement of scriptural truth. Certain it is, that an interest in subjects connected with Biblical Literature is not confined now, as formerly, to persons of profound erudition, or to those who have been styled, 'men of piety by profession,' but appears to be extending, slowly indeed, through the various gradations of society, not excluding the more cultivated and influential classes. As Thales took the height of the pyramids by measuring the shadows which they cast, we may perhaps judge of the value of religion in general estimation, by observing the degree of influence it appears to exert over the current literature of the age, and the favourable reception given to works intended to establish the evidence, or to illustrate the truths, of the sacred records. Happily, the old idea is no longer tolerated, that learning and religion are necessarily hostile to each other, and that, as in the case of two rival princes in a Turkish court, the one must be put to death that the other may more securely reign. On the contrary, it has often been seen, that they have the same enemies and the same friends; and rarely does science erect a trophy for herself, but she raises also, intentionally or unintentionally, an altar to Religion. At the same time, it cannot be too often impressed upon the mind, that religion is not a thing of speculation so much as of practical concern; that proficiency in it depends much less upon the acuteness of the intellect, than upon the moral state of the affections, since it is no part of the Divine design to sharpen the intellect at the expense of the best feelings of the heart; and that the noblest efforts of

the understanding, and the wisest teaching of man, will avail little in securing our highest happiness, without those influences from the Eternal Source of light, which, though too often unsought by the wise and prudent, who value them not, are never withholden from those, babes though they be in this world's wisdom, who truly prize and seek them. Nor let it be forgotten, that, next in importance to our personal well-being, is the influence we exert upon the moral happiness of others; and as God, in so many respects, makes man the medium of communicating his best blessings to man, we are greatly answerable for the impressions we communicate, by word or pen, to the minds of our fellow-pilgrims to the skies. As, in the torch-race of the ancient Greeks, the kindled flame was communicated from individual to individual, so, the bright lamp of Divine truth is held forth from one dying hand to another. 'We pass like shadows.' Most happy and enviable will be their retrospect of life, who have left some permanent memorial for God and truth in the minds and consciences of those with whom they associate, and who, not neglecting their own religious progress, are warranted to indulge the humble consciousness, that, but for their existence, the world might have been less happy or less wise.

Art. IV. *Spiritual Despotism.* By the Author of Natural History of Enthusiasm. London, 1835.

[*Concluded from Page 352.*]

'SIMPLY to have declared null and void every bequest, 'whether made in the article of death or previously, in 'favour of religious corporations, would have given a new aspect 'to Church history.' In this sentence, the Author would seem to concede, that Church property is pernicious both to religion and to the interests of the commonwealth; and that over all corporations the civil magistrate has a supreme authority. The necessary conditions, in fact, of the civil establishment of a Church, are, the acknowledged supremacy of the legislature, and the prevention of a dangerous accumulation of property in the hands of ecclesiastics. Its object is, to tie up the Church to good behaviour, to circumscribe it within certain limits, to hinder it from oppressing the people or disturbing the State. In this point of view, an Establishment seems the remedy for the evils arising out of ecclesiastical usurpation. This boasted scheme, then, the *ne plus ultra* of legislative wisdom, turns out to be a mere compromise between the civil government and a too powerful order of the State. History confirms this view of the subject, and shews that an ecclesiastical Establishment intends neither more nor less than the subjection of the Church, as an estate or order,

to the civil power. It is not a provision for the instruction of the people, but the regulation and control of a provision already made. Property having accumulated for certain public purposes, the State interposes to determine by whom and on what conditions the endowments shall be enjoyed. Now the right of the State so to interpose, we deem unquestionable; and the strongest political reasons may be assigned, why a Church that has ceased to depend upon the voluntary support of the people, should be brought under the salutary control of the civil power. But the question before us is not, which of these two states of things is better for the community, the one in which a potent hierarchy rests upon its own authority and wealth, independent of the State, or the other in which the Church is merged in the civil establishment; but whether the interests of religion, or, in other words, the religious interests of the people, are capable of being promoted by any scheme of endowment which removes the Church from its original basis, the voluntary support of the people, and converts the clergy into a corporate body, or rather a number of closely allied corporations.

This question, one of the most interesting that can engage public attention, the present Author has not met, although his pages indirectly throw considerable light upon the problem. He sees clearly, and expatiates eloquently upon the evils arising out of that departure from the apostolic policy, which virtually dissolved the primitive relation between the people and their pastors, and of which evils the legal establishment of the clergy is a mitigation and partial remedy; but he cannot be brought to allow that the State palliative of spiritual despotism is but a lesser evil, and that the restoration of the Church to 'its original position, in relation to the people', is the true remedy for all the evil results of its being removed from it.

On the contrary, he defends the departure from the inspired model as *unavoidable*, the necessary result of the course of events. 'The Church, at a very early time, became mistress of a disposable capital, and availed herself of the *powers* and *advantages* thence naturally arising. The Church, even in its infancy, became the inheritress of property, real as well as personal, and often to a large amount.' 'No imaginable provisions can exclude the possibility of such accumulation.' This last sentence is at direct variance with the Author's remark, that the civil magistrate might have declared null and void every such bequest. But were there no other provisions that might have prevented such accumulations, opposed as they were to the very spirit of Christianity? On the one hand, testamentary bequests to the Church, which are too often the indication of previous avarice and posthumous injustice, would have been less frequent, had the principles of the Gospel maintained their due

influence; and, on the other hand, a true missionary spirit would have exhausted the coffers of the Church, and precluded the fatal accumulation of that wealth which proved the ruin of the Christian cause.

In the vague, ever varying, and unscriptural use of the word Church, the Author has but adopted a common but mischievous fallacy. How could *the Church* become the mistress of capital, the inheritress of property? To endow an abstract idea with political rights and possessions, is absurd. The Church, in its catholicity, is a purely abstract idea, incapable of alliance to any thing political. A Church, the Author tells us, 'is a family, a brotherhood, intimately blended together and firmly compacted by immortal love.' 'Broadly classified, the Church consists of the taught and the teachers, or of the governed and the governing: it is at once a school of knowledge and a school of virtue.' 'We assume,' he says, 'that any idea of a Church at all approaching to the notion of a club of independent citizens, combining themselves for the furtherance of a common interest, and installing and removing their officers at pleasure, is essentially at variance with the principle of a Christian Church.' Because this idea would be '*secular and political*,' whereas the notion of a Church drawn from 'the analogy of the domestic economy,' is 'spiritual and divine.' In this we agree with the Author; but we must maintain, that a Church *possessed of property* ceases to be the spiritual thing which he describes—ceases to be a mere brotherhood, a school of knowledge, or Divine institution; and from that moment partakes of a new character, grafted upon the primary idea and design of a church; and though we should not have selected the word, we will say, that a church holding property is a club. That is to say, not a mere club, but, in addition to its being a church, it becomes, as touching that political circumstance, what is meant by the word club. The community of goods which was adopted by the Church of Jerusalem, is confessedly no part of the spiritual constitution of the Church of Christ; but, so far as the members 'had all things common,' they formed a club for their mutual relief and support. The artifice of employing a low term, must not deter us from looking at the plain fact. A common or public fund, whether its object be secular or religious, whether designed for the temporal benefit of the contributors, or for the charitable relief of others, whether a benefit society, or a widows' fund, or a missionary fund, involves the notion which the Author repudiates as not belonging to the idea of a church; but neither do 'a chest,' and 'disposable capital,' and the 'powers thence naturally arising,' and 'hereditaments,' and possessions real and personal, belong to that idea; but to something grafted upon it. A church might, in the management of such matters, resolve itself as it were into a club, without losing its

higher and sacred character ; or we may speak of the club as an institution attached to the Christian brotherhood. But this point must not be lost sight of ; not only that property is a secular thing, but that its possession is a political circumstance, which imparts a secular character to the party holding it, whether a person or a corporate body. No one can hold property but in a secular capacity. The 'stewards of the Church chest,' the trustees of charitable funds, the mitred lords of abbeys or counties palatine, are alike to be regarded as sustaining a character not less secular than that of the farmer, the merchant, or the temporal peer.

Property, power, and government are all political ideas, standing for things which can attach to nothing but what belongs to civil society. To hold property, is a condition of civil society : the right is the creature of law. In like manner, to govern is a political prerogative which can belong only to political persons. There can be no such thing as ecclesiastical government, except by delegation or by manifest usurpation of the civil power ; for either it must intend a power delegated to ecclesiastics in civil matters, and then it is still civil government under another name, or it involves a withdrawment of the subjects of it from the ordinary relations of society, by an illicit *imperium in imperio*. It is much to be regretted, that such a word as church-government should ever have come into use, to denote the discipline of the Christian family, the pastoral rule of the teachers and guides of the Church, or the mere regulations of a voluntary fellowship. We may speak, indeed, of the government of a family, or of a school, or of a charity : but a government involving any power or authority over men's purses or persons, or coercing them by any sanctions affecting their temporal interests, is political in its nature, and must be derived from the civil magistracy.

Let it be granted, that the pastors of the Church were, in early times, required to act as magistrates,—to interfere in matters falling within the sphere of civil jurisprudence,—and that they might do so with propriety and advantage, to prevent the scandal of an appeal to heathen tribunals ; still, this does not alter the fact, that they assumed, in such cases, a political function perfectly distinct from the spiritual office. 'Nothing else could happen,' our Author remarks,

'under the actual circumstances of the infant and struggling sect, but that powers of all kinds should gather round each episcopal chair ; and especially round those in the great cities. Eagerly was the bishop appealed to as arbiter among the brethren in adjusting their secular differences ; gladly was he made the depositary of family secrets, and the guardian of orphans. None so proper as he to be the treasurer of public funds, and to his hands was often entrusted private property, in unsettled times.

‘ Our own circumstances, surrounded as we are by every sort of legal provision and public security, hardly admit of our properly allowing for that unavoidable course of affairs which, in the ancient Church, threw at the feet of bishops much more influence and wealth than consisted, generally, with the simplicity, humility, and sanctity becoming their office. These dignitaries were, in a sense, the victims of the existing condition of the Christian community ; and in fact, we find not a few of this order lamenting the secular embarrassments by which they were oppressed, and sighing, though in vain, for liberty to devote themselves, without distraction, to their spiritual functions.’

pp. 205, 206.

So far as they were ‘ victims ’, they were certainly not criminals ; but how opposite to the genius of Christianity must have been a system which required such a sacrifice of the genuine character of the bishops of the Church ! Whatever allowance we may be called to make for the men, there ought to be no faltering in our condemnation of the system, since the New Testament would have furnished principles that would have stopped that perilous course of affairs. To call it unavoidable, is to shift the blame upon Divine Providence. The assumption of political power is pointedly forbidden to the ministers of Christ by our Lord himself and by his apostles, as it was uniformly disclaimed by them ; and nothing is more irrefragably certain, than that the institutions of Christ have no political basis, and are susceptible of no political sanctions.

A distinction may, indeed, properly be made between the occasional union of the civil and ecclesiastical functions in the same person, and the annexation of civil functions to the ecclesiastical office. Cases may be imagined, such as Hooker puts,—as when ‘ a Christian Society are planted among their professed enemies, ‘ or by toleration do live under some certain State wherein they ‘ are not incorporated,’—which might require or justify the exercise of judicial and other secular functions on the part of the pastors. But it must be observed, that, in such cases, the Christian Society is to be viewed not simply as a Church, but acts as a political society,—a sort of municipal corporation or republic, choosing its own secular rulers, ‘ in defect of other civil magistrates.’ A pastor may be at the same time a magistrate, as he may be a physician, or a merchant, or a soldier,—for prelates have, before now, been seen fighting at the head of armies ; and Hooker seems to think the practice sufficiently recommended by Jewish precedent*. Why then should they not be lords of

* ‘ Shall we then discommend the people of Milan for using Ambrose, their bishop, as an ambassador about their public and politic affairs ; the Jews for electing their priests sometimes to be leaders in war ; David

parliament and leaders in political warfare, or be chosen as ministers of State or diplomatists? Without stopping to determine this question, or to settle whether a Christian minister is more out of his sphere when presiding in a court of justice or when heading a patriot army, we ask only that it may be granted, that the administration of civil government formed no part of the original design of the institutions of Christ. The New Testament supposes that the members of the churches of Christ would still remain, as members also of civil society, subject to political rule, and entitled to civil protection; but a government by priests, a sacerdotal magistracy, forms no part of the economy of the Church of God. Calvin, framing laws for the republic of Geneva, Zwingli, dying on the field of battle with arms in his hand, might claim the honour and gratitude of their countrymen, the one as a political reformer and jurist, the other as a patriot; but, in neither of these characters do we recognize the minister of Christ acting in his proper functions. Let political rule and secular authority become *permanently* annexed to the office of the Christian pastor,—it matters not whether he be called bishop, presbyter, or priest,—the spiritual relation is then destroyed, and the true character of the Church perishes. The political institution infallibly swallows up the religious character.

Now the true definition of prelacy is *political episcopacy*, or an episcopacy in which the spiritual features of the pastoral office are merged in political authority. And one of the strongest objections against the episcopal polity is, that it inevitably runs into this,—that it constantly tends to the political. The present Author, at the outset of his volume, complains that ‘the arrogant and encroaching episcopacy of the early ages, from which the proper counterpoise had been removed, has furnished a specious argument in modern times bearing against that form of church-government.’ But, ‘can we believe,’ he asks, ‘that, other things being the same, and the laity, in the one case as well as the other, being excluded from conclaves and councils, the presbyteries of Carthage, of Rome, or of Milan, would have shewn themselves less arrogant, and less eager to accumulate honours and wealth, than were the actual bishops of those sees?’* Perhaps not; for aristocracies, when despotic, are the worst of

for making the High Priest his chiefest counsellor of State; finally, all Christian kings and princes which have appointed unto like services bishops or other of the clergy under them? No, they have done in this respect that which most sincere and religious wisdom alloweth.’ —Hooker’s Eccl. Pol. B. vii. sect. 15.

* It might have been urged, that the Italian system of Church-government, or the Papacy, is Presbyterian, rather than Episcopal. The conclave is composed of Cardinal Presbyters.

despotisms ; and experience has shewn, that a committee of priests is more to be dreaded, when invested with secular power, than any single despot. Still, Episcopacy was not merely the form which clerical encroachment naturally assumed in the early ages, but it arose out of the transmutation of spiritual into political authority ; or, as Barrow expresses it, the ‘metropolitan government’ originated in the moulding of the ecclesiastical government in conformity to the civil. How much useless controversy has been expended upon the *form* of Church government, when the only question of essential importance in this matter, relates to the *nature* of that ecclesiastical rule which belongs to the Christian ministry, and comports with the design of the Christian institutions !

Nothing is more clearly deducible from the Scriptures of the New Testament, than that the institutions of the Christian Church were not designed to supersede or to interfere with the relations of civil society, or to trench upon the province of the civil magistrate. We assume as fundamental axioms, the correlative positions, that the administration of the Divine laws does not come within the province of political governments, and, that the administration of political government does not rightfully belong to the teachers and rulers of the Church. It is not merely that the ends and objects of political and religious institutions are totally different, but that the means employed to secure their respective ends, differ as widely as moral suasion from mechanical force. ‘The means of Civil society,’ as Warburton remarks, ‘being *coercive power*, which power *the Religious hath not*, it follows, that the administration of each society is exercised in ‘so remote spheres, that they never can meet to clash.’ But, although they could never clash, while in their proper spheres, they have, unhappily, been perpetually confounded. ‘The ground ‘of all civil laws,’ Hooker finely remarks, ‘is this: no man ought ‘to be hurt or injured by another. Take away this persuasion, ‘and ye take away all the laws.’* With virtue and vice, as such, or with truth and error, civil laws have nothing to do, but only as connected with rights and wrongs. Their object is to protect the good, and to restrain the evil, but not to make men good, or to punish them for being immoral or irreligious: because coercive power is not a means adapted to produce either conviction or moral improvement ; and because, too, the lawful authority and competency of civil magistracies and judicatures would otherwise depend, not upon political, but upon moral considerations ; in which case, an immoral legislator or an irreligious monarch would be disqualified for his political duties. The Judge of the whole

* Hooker’s Works, (Hanbury’s ed.,) Vol. III. p. 398.

world has never devolved the administration of his moral government upon human tribunals, which can neither judge of crimes, except as they affect the social interests of men, nor reach them by any device of legislation. Hypocrisy, ingratitude, want of natural affection, lying, profligacy, drunkenness, heartless impiety, malignity, the most detestable dispositions, cannot be punished by human laws; and it is therefore absurd to suppose that, in any case, the design of such laws is to deal with moral delinquency otherwise than as producing overt acts of injury and wrong. Nay, these vicious and criminal habits or dispositions may exist in the civil magistrate himself, without diminishing his claim to political obedience. All that society requires of him is, that he shall rule by the laws which are made for the protection of those who keep them, and decide justly on the causes referred to his decision. Protection and justice are all that society asks from him who bears the sword or holds the scales; from the king as head of the army, or from the king as the supreme judge. Under every form of government, the protector of his people is entitled to their allegiance; and the whole science of government may be resolved into the ascertaining of the best means of securing equal protection to the civil interests of all classes. The moment we lose sight of this principle, that Government is Protection, and that to protect is the sole design of the powers of government, we involve ourselves in inextricable difficulty and error.

Further, obedience to the laws is the condition, the sole condition, which entitles the subject to their protection. "If I be an offender," said St. Paul, before the Roman proconsul, "I refuse not to die." But, standing on his rights as a Roman, he appealed to the heathen Cæsar. When the sword of the Emperor, entrusted to him for the protection of his subjects, was employed in persecuting Christians who had committed no wrong, the ends of civil government were subverted, and law gave place to tyranny. Religious obedience, which is belief, is not only no just condition of civil protection, but it is an impossible one, because the sword cannot teach, and coercion cannot make truth to be falsehood. The magistrate who exacts a universal conformity of opinion to his creed, exacts an impossibility; and if he demands the suppression of conscientious opinion, he not only goes beyond his proper function, and violates his duty as the protector of society, but imposes a condition at variance with the primary moral obligations of every accountable subject of the Divine Government.

All this may be very trite, but it can never be repeated too often, or made too plain. We proceed to make a still more obvious remark, when we observe, that Church-government was never intended to serve the purpose of government properly so called; that is, the protection of the members of Christian so-

ciety. The reply of Our Lord himself on one occasion may be applied with decisive force to the pastors of his Church:—"Man, who made me a judge or an arbitrator (μεριστής) over you?" (Luke xii. 14.) How happy would it have been for the Church and for the world, had this disclaimer of political authority on the part of Him whose kingdom is not of this world, been regarded as the Pattern binding upon all who teach in His name! We say, then, that it formed no part of the office or function of the rulers of the Church, whether apostles, bishops, presbyters, or deacons, whatever their name or rank, to *protect* the persons or property of their flocks; to rule as protectors, to divide or arbitrate as judges; to exert any functions supplying and requiring the possession of political power. Such power must either have been derived from the civil magistracy, or must have been seditiously opposed to it. The rulers of the primitive churches could indeed exercise only such power as was, by consent of the people, placed in their hands; in the same way that a lawyer may be chosen as an arbitrator between parties in a civil dispute; and till the power of coercing by penal sanctions fell into the hands of ecclesiastical governors, whatever authority they might exercise was still distinguishable from political power.

The only rule which Our Lord has instituted in his Church, is a rule over the minds of men, a rule of moral authority, enforced by moral sanctions, incapable of administration by coercion and penal laws. The spirit of Christian institutions abhors all coercion; for the only sword which can touch the spirit, is the Word of God. It was therefore inevitable that, when the rulers of the Church became possessed of political power, the whole character of the Church and its institutions should undergo a fatal transformation into that of a state, or a political institute. As the possession of property is a secular circumstance, so the possession of power is a political circumstance. As a Church holding property ceases to be a mere religious institution, and becomes a club, a trust, or a corporation, a creature of law, cognizable by the civil government; so, a church exercising any political power over its members, loses its spiritual character, and becomes, under whatever name, a political institution—an *imperium in imperio*, or a part of the Civil Government. In other words, it ceases to be properly a Church.

That this change had passed upon the Christian Churches of the early ages long before the reign of Constantine, is undeniable. Our Author shews that they had become 'religious corporations' analogous to the pagan hierarchies; princely establishments, existing for the benefit only of the clerical order; and if they had not gained full possession of the sword, they exercised a power, derived from wealth and office, substantially political, not only as it was coercive and despotic, but as it dealt with those secular

matters which come within the province of the Civil Government. Strange to say, instead of shewing how opposite this was to the design of Christian Institutions, our Author labours to prove that it was their inevitable tendency and certain result. ‘Long before the era of the political triumph of Christianity,’ he says, ‘and while all the movements of the Church were as purely *spontaneous* (!) as can be imagined, ecclesiastical power was condensing itself upon a centre, and had made great progress in digesting those arrogant principles which the papacy of the twelfth century brought fully to bear upon the constitution of society throughout Europe.’ But what is ecclesiastical power? If it is any thing which can touch a man in his person or his purse, it is not the power vested by the Head of the Church in his Apostles and their successors; it is a secular, a political thing: whether exercised by priest or by soldier, by means of fraud or force, by the terrors of the sword, or the terrors of damnation, if the power bears coercively upon the civil interests of men, it is a political power, and such as belongs only to the Civil Government. We will not say, with the Author, that ‘Despotism had reached its height, where the decrees of synods met with no resistance’; but it had certainly advanced far towards maturity.

‘We must in charity,’ says the Author, ‘impute extreme ignorance to those who have *professed* to think that the political establishment of Christianity was the cause of its corruption.’ There is as little charity, we must say, in supposing persons to profess to think what they do not really believe, as there is of controversial fairness in the imputation here cast upon Writers of acknowledged learning and piety. The Churches had become political establishments, before the struggle between the rival priesthoods was terminated by the suppression of Paganism: and their becoming political institutions was in part the cause, as it was in part also the effect, of the corruption of Christianity. The following remarks illustrate the first steps of that corrupting process.

‘So long as the great duty of Christian ministers was to teach and enforce PRINCIPLES OF BELIEF, which all are alike to enjoy and to imbibe, and which, when once received, are (at least so far as the teacher is concerned) an unalienable possession, these teachers stand upon a ground of reasonable equality with the people. But the relative position of the two parties is at once, and essentially changed, when the priest pretends to have something, and something mysterious, to *bestow*, from day to day, as well as something to *teach*; and when he may, at discretion, bestow or withhold the inestimable and indispensable boon. This essential change of position we find to have taken place long before Constantine comes upon the stage. Spiritual despotism had already laid the broad foundation of its power, when the blood of Cyprian stained the sands without the walls of Carthage.

‘ Every superstition, as well as that relating to the sacraments, had the same tendency to throw into the hands of the clergy a power which continually widened the interval between the people and their ministers ; and in observing the rapid growth of some of these errors, it is hard to resist the belief that they were wittingly promoted, and craftily sustained, by the clergy, with an express view to the enlargement and consolidation of their influence.’ pp. 195, 196.

Now, to call this influence spiritual or moral, is an abuse of terms. It was not more so than the influence exercised by a municipal corporation or a trading guild. To say, as our Author does, that ‘ all this while every thing within the Church was ‘ purely spontaneous,’ the working of the voluntary system, is equally fallacious. ‘ The tendencies of human nature were taking ‘ their own course’ :—but were these the tendencies of Christianity or of its Divine Institutions? Would it not have been more worthy of the Writer, to shew that Christianity is not answerable for the usurpations of priestcraft, which laid the foundations of the terrible despotism of the Papacy, than to contend that Episcopacy was *not* the cause, or that priestly despotism had gained a political ascendancy, an ‘ absolute and undefined power ‘ over the mass of the people,’ before the era of the political ascendancy of the Christian faith in the empire? It is not, we freely admit, ‘ five orders, or twenty, that makes a Church ‘ despotic’ ; and it may be all very well to caution the reader of ecclesiastical history against mistaking ‘ the accidental form of a ‘ tyrannical system for the substance and principle of it.’ But had the Author employed the same pains in vindicating the genius of the Institutions of the New Testament, that he has thrown away upon the defence of that protean thing called Episcopacy, he would have done himself infinitely more honour, as well as the cause of religion far higher service.

Instead of this, he has unwittingly afforded a handle to the enemy of Christianity, by representing its institutions as so inevitably tending to what is corrupt and noxious, so pregnant with danger to society, that the only remedy is to incorporate the Church with the State. He tells us, that ‘ a Church is the ‘ organized Christianity of a certain circle or district’ (p. 169) ; that ‘ Christianity tends always to and demands social organization’, and that, ‘ where there is no organization, there is no Christianity’ (p. 170) ; that ‘ the apostolic societies were, in the fullest sense of ‘ the word, communities’ (p. 158) ; that ‘ the clergy being thus ‘ brought into society as a body,’ as the result of this ‘ *municipal* ‘ organization’, ‘ nothing could avert the establishment of some ‘ species of hierarchical subordination’ (p. 172) ; that ‘ monarchy ‘ and episcopacy may be considered as the forms into which the ‘ social system will spontaneously subside’ (p. 176) ; that we do well to follow the ‘ analogy of civil affairs’ in ‘ placing the su-

‘preme administrative power in the hands of a father and shepherd’ (p. 184); that ‘nothing else could happen under the actual circumstances of the infant sect, but that powers of *all kinds* should gather round each episcopal chair’ (p. 205); that the hierarchical changes by which offices and gradations were multiplied so as to ‘favour the advance of the growing despotism’, ‘followed in the *inevitable course* of things, and were by [no means in themselves culpable, whatever might be the consequences that in the end flowed from them’ (p. 204); that ‘the *unavoidable course* of affairs threw at the feet of the bishops more influence and wealth than consisted with the humility and sanctity becoming their office’ (p. 206); and that ‘nothing could happen, but that corruption and profligacy, impudent hypocrisy and knavery should spread through the clerical order, when its chiefs occupied a station beset by every sort of seduction.’ (p. 207.)

Now would not the philosophic infidel be warranted by this representation in concluding, that the design of Jesus Christ and his apostles was to introduce a new species of political institutions, and thus to produce important changes in the State; that the scheme consisted in founding a number of well-organized municipal communities, at first of a republican character, but which, like the free cities of the Italian States, became gradually enslaved by their chief magistrate; that an atrocious despotism was the inevitable result; and that the only remedy for the evil was the annihilation of the political power of these pestilent hierarchies, and the subordination of religion and religious persons to the civil power? Would not the fair inference be, that Christianity was essentially a political scheme, and that it had failed? Its Author had not provided against ‘the inevitable course of things’!!

We see no escape from the dilemma, but by shewing that the only document which can guide us in this matter, disproves the whole of our Author’s theory. To the entire series of his positions we oppose the fact, that no trace of political organization is to be found in the churches of apostolic times. A church of the New Testament is a family, or a synagogue, or the general body of believers in any place or district, with their teachers; and doubtless there was the most cordial mutual recognition and co-operation between all Christians within the reach of intercourse. But of ‘municipal organization’ we find no trace whatever; nor does the Author pretend to adduce the shadow of evidence from the New Testament in justification of his assumption. He tells us, that ‘the unorganized and ungoverned correspondence of neighbouring societies does not satisfy the conditions, or secure the advantages of *church order*.’ And why, but because church order requires what the interests of religion do not require, and

cannot be satisfied with the institutions of Christ. Church order is a mere periphrase for that 'hierarchical combination' which arose from the ambition of the would-be "lords of God's heritage." This lying device has been the pretext for intolerance and persecution in every age. Church order is the political substitute for the reality of Christian fellowship. We know at how early a period the spirit of ecclesiastical domination was at work within the pale of the Church. "For ye suffer," says St. Paul to the Corinthians, "if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man take of you, if a man exalt himself, if a man smite you on the face." * "I know", he elsewhere says, "that after my departure, grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." † We can point the infidel to these passages, as shewing that the evils which arose from clerical usurpation were not unforeseen, but were denounced by the spirit of Inspiration. But we can prove more than this; that, to exercise any species of ecclesiastical lordship, any sort of political power over the members of the Church, was expressly forbidden by Our Lord himself ‡; and the prohibition was reiterated by his apostles §, who, by their example, discountenanced it to the utmost ||. The notion, that Christians were in any degree exempted from the laws and relations of civil society, is sedulously opposed ¶; and there is the fullest evidence, that "love to the brotherhood," and religious deference to their teachers and pastors, were the only bonds by which the primitive societies were held together.

'In rebutting the inference of sceptics,' then, to use the Author's own language in another place, we readily grant that the Christian institutions too soon assumed a secular form. 'But 'then we ask,' with him, 'Was this superstition'—or was this despotism—'Christianity'? When the vast political system of the western world was rapidly decaying, 'Church power', it is remarked, 'stepped into the room of all other kinds of power.'

'It inherited the strength and the honours of every expiring supremacy; and in turn, as every authority and as every virtue died away intestate, without leaving a natural successor, the Church came forward to administer to the effects of all; she grasped all; and became at length the sole mistress of whatever she thought worth possessing.' p. 223.

Was this the Church of Christ? To answer in the affirmative, is to impugn its Divine Founder. Let us rather say of this early

* 2 Cor. xi. 20.

† Acts xx. 29.

‡ Luke xxii. 26.

§ 1 Pet. v. 3; 1 Cor. iii. 5, iv. 1; 2 Cor. i. 24.

|| Acts v. 4; 2 Cor. ix. 7, xii. 13.

¶ Rom. xiii. 1 1 Pet. ii. 13.

usurpation of political power, what the Author remarks of the frivolous superstition of 'a later and still more degenerate age'; that 'Christianity is clearly exempt from the blame, inasmuch as 'it was no longer virtually extant, or not so extant as to retain 'its soul and power.'

If Church power—if any thing like it—be the genuine fruit of Christianity, it is no longer true, in any sense, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world,—not secular in its principles. On the contrary, this power is the direct antagonist of the legitimate powers of the magistrate. The Author has aimed only at vindicating Constantine; but he has, in effect, justified Nero and Julian.

'Whether persecuted or tolerated,' he says, 'a religious community, numerous, every where extant, internally organized, and sensitive through all its members, can never be looked at with indifference by any government. Let it be granted that principles of peace and subordination pervade such a body; and moreover that, *to-day*, its feeling goes along with the government, and that its weight is thrown into the scale of the existing administration. But to-morrow changes take place; measures are proposed, or effected, which the religious community disapproves, or by which it thinks itself aggrieved, or endangered. Will it abstain then from using its conscious power? will it refrain from implicit threats? Spite of Christian meekness, spite of every motive to the contrary, nay, on the very ground and pretext of the highest motives, it will act as human nature, in such circumstances, impels; and the government, seeing things only in a common light, will find that it has to do with a powerful and an unmanageable internal enemy. A well-adjusted church-and-state polity recommends itself, in this special respect; not indeed as an infallible means of preventing collisions between the religious and the secular elements of the social system; but as an arrangement which provides against ordinary occasions of concussion, and as immensely better than the leaving two potent principles open to every casualty that may throw them rudely one upon the other.

'The behaviour of the Christian community under the outrageous violences of which it was so often the victim, was, in most instances, unexceptionable and admirable. So much meekness, so much respect for authority, such abstinence from retaliative conduct and vindictive expressions, on the part of a body, numerous and physically strong, and not always destitute of influence at court, affords convincing proof of the divine excellence and efficacy of the motives which the Gospel conveys.

'Yet in their remonstrances with their furious enemies, the Christian apologists make a fair appeal to the fact of the patience and submissiveness, under intolerable wrongs, of a body of men numerous enough, if they chose to stand upon the defensive, to convulse the empire, if not to make their own terms. And they well said, 'If we were impelled by worldly and common motives, we should certainly judge it better to die sword in hand, than at the stake.'

‘ This quiet, but significant allusion to their physical force, and to their organized power, naturally became more and more frequent and distinct ; and whether openly spoken of or not, it was thoroughly understood, and keenly felt too by the imperial government. Perhaps indeed the political power of the Christians was rated higher by the court, that justly feared it, than by the Church that would not indulge the thought of actually using it. The circumstances of the Diocletian persecution (not to refer to any other) afford indication enough of what were the alarms, and what the desperate resolution of the imperial cabinet. These fears, and this line of conduct, on the one side, must, in the end, have infused a corresponding feeling into the Church. The two powers were balancing, and mutually measuring their strength ; and if the conversion of the court itself had not occurred when it did, nothing else seemed likely to happen, at length, but an open collision, and a general conflict.’ pp. 229—32.

Such a passage as this would not have surprised us, if coming from Gibbon. Its occurrence in the pages of the pious Author of “ Saturday Evening ” can be accounted for only by the predominant influence of a fallacious theory. A community suffering under ‘ intolerable wrongs ’ cannot but be an object of jealousy to its oppressor ; but is it the more formidable for being a *religious* community, and one whose principles are those of patient endurance ? Did Christianity ask any thing more from the Roman Government than the protection of its members from civil injury ? Could any Church of Christ, while it retained its original character, ever have proved ‘ an unmanageable internal enemy ’ to the State ? What ‘ organized power ’ could its primitive institutions create, which excluded all the elements of secular power, and rendered collision with the civil magistracy impossible ? It is passing strange, that the Author should deem a Church and State alliance the only infallible security against the political danger arising from the institutions of Christ !

But more than this ; it was, it appears, the duty of Constantine, and of course of Nero, to see to the maintenance of religion, as ‘ a main element of the social well-being of mankind.’

‘ As a fulcrum of order and a cement of public peace, and as a rule of manners, and a sanction of civil virtue, religion not only *may*, but *must* be cared for, and be upheld, and be regulated by the State. How much soever the magistrate, in any instance, may desire to relieve his hands of this burden, he finds he cannot do so without an abandonment of his duty. What is not sustained will decay : what is not kept in order, will fall into confusion. The morals of a nation are to be guarded ; sentiments of awe toward the Divine Majesty are to be cherished ; the instruction (and, to be efficacious, it must be a religious instruction) of the people, far from being abandoned to the efforts of precarious zeal, must be secured on a broad foundation ; and more than this, those extensive interests of the Church, and those modifications and adaptations made necessary by the revolutions of

time, which no individuals, privately, are in a position to superintend, and which moreover, the Church itself is often tardy in attending to, demand a vigilant regard; and must, at intervals, receive a vigorous impulse from the magistrate or the legislature.' pp. 267, 8.

In this paragraph, there is much truth, blended with serious error. The 'sustaining' and 'keeping in order' of the religion of Christ are not committed to the civil magistrate; but a wise policy would lead the Governments of this world to protect the teachers of a pure morality, to cherish learning, and to promote the instruction of the people. Christianity presents itself to the secular politician as the most efficient instrument of social regeneration. All this is undeniable; but, in order to render religion thus politically useful, no church and state polity of the kind which the Author contends for, is necessary. That polity, on the contrary, has always thrown the greatest obstacles in the way of realizing its professed object. Its real object is, to check, and control, and limit the exertions of the clerical order, not to stimulate them; to subordinate the ecclesiastical power to the civil; and to make the wealth, rather than the zeal of the Church contributory to the purposes of the State. 'Men of the closet' can at least read history.

Of the two evils, the Church and State system and the *Anti-State Church System*, we have already said, we deem the former by far the less. Upon this point, we are Zwinglians, and would far rather have what is misnamed spiritual authority placed in the hands of the civil magistrate, than secular power of any kind in the hands of the ecclesiastic. We recognize the absolute supremacy of the civil authority over all estates, all corporations, all institutions affecting men in their social interests. We are ready to admit that not only all church property, but all church power belongs to the State. We have risen from the perusal of this volume with a deeper conviction than ever, that no Church can be possessed of wealth without being corrupted by it, and that no order of religious teachers can safely be entrusted with the administration of the smallest portion of political power. Mosheim affirms that Zwingle, deeming all authority of every kind to be lodged in the hands of the magistrate alone, would not allow to the ministers of the Church even the power of excluding flagitious offenders from its communion. Calvin, on the other hand, succeeded, in the face of a formidable opposition, in establishing a jurisdiction which enabled the clergy to enforce purity of discipline by the authority of the State, while he left to the civil magistrate little else than the privilege of protecting and defending the Church. If the only choice of evils be between laxity of religious discipline and political injustice, we must confess that we should prefer the former, and would rather subordinate the Church to the Government, than the Government to the

Church. The reformation of manners effected by the stern coercion of an ecclesiastical police, is dearly purchased at the sacrifice of civil and religious freedom, without which piety itself must soon languish. The splendid example of the Reformer and Legislator of Geneva, and the success of his disciple, Knox, cannot seduce us into admiration of the intolerant principle upon which their polity was founded, or conceal from us the eventual tendency of their legislation, which has suffered the 'Protestant Rome' and the Northern Athens to become the head-quarters of Infidelity.

The teacher armed with power has ever proved a tyrant—from the pedagogue lording it over his trembling pupils, up to the throned priest, whether Sheikh, Marabout, or Brahmin, Bishop, Abbot, or Patriarch. In all ages and in all countries, the union of the spiritual and the political functions has produced similar noxious results. In the Christian institutions alone, as they are presented to us in the New Testament, we find them completely separated; and the consequences which have uniformly attended a departure in this respect from the provisions of the Divine Head of the Church, afford a striking illustration of the Apostolic remark, that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men." The truth is, that so powerful is the moral and social influence which the religious teacher is able to exert over his disciples, so dangerous is this ascendancy when obtained by a false teacher, so amply sufficient for every good purpose when attaching to eminent sanctity and usefulness,—that, when the secular influence of wealth or station is combined with it, it becomes too strong for the virtue of its possessor, as well as for the rights of the people. In some cases, the political influence, instead of combining with it, decomposes the proper influence of the ministerial character: in a few cases, it may have given occasion for heroic excellence. But it is when combined with the spurious moral influence of a corrupt priesthood, that the malignant effects are fully developed. Still, it is, under all circumstances, injurious both to the teacher and to the taught. Even when religious teachers are placed in a condition of poverty and dependence, the influence which they exert in society forms a powerful counterbalance, not only to what our Author calls 'the secular elements of the social system,' but even to that of a clerical magistracy. The strength of this influence is illustrated by the first steps of Spiritual Despotism, as traced in the present volume. It may be seen at this moment wrestling with all the powers of the State in Ireland. It is found, in its genuine and beneficent character, silently working for good in the ministry of the Protestant Dissenters, and giving efficiency to the voluntary system. We must confess that the perusal of this volume has but served to strengthen our prejudices, if they be such, in favour of that mode of supporting the minis-

ters of religion, and of those principles of church polity, which its Author impugns; and to fix upon our minds a deep conviction that, in the institutions of Congregational Dissenters, with all the defects and inconveniences that may attach to them, there is the nearest approximation to the primitive churches and to the principles of the New Testament.

We say this with a clear perception, if we do not deceive ourselves, of much that may demand correction and reform in existing practices; but a system is half vindicated which admits of such quiet and spontaneous self-improvement, as the Author admits to have taken place in Congregationalism*. 'He well knows,' he says, 'the Dissenters. He knows their zeal, their abundant labours for the promotion of the Gospel, their disinterestedness, their liberality, unmatched and unlimited, and their private and personal worth and piety; and although they may scout his praise, he will still praise them.' We will not merely accept his praise, but we convert it into the best of all arguments. Nor will we quarrel with him as to what he terms 'the material alleviation of the evils of Congregationalism, which has incidentally resulted from the modern missionary exertions of the several dissident communities;'—admitting the facts, though not agreeing with his manner of stating them. Thus, we do not at all concede, that it has been the tendency of the 'evangelic schemes and operations' of the last twenty years, to 'give the dissenting clergy a *corporate* existence,' 'or strength and importance as an *order*.' If we understand the meaning of these terms, they are wholly misapplied. But much of what follows the above remark is just and worthy of attention.

'The great movements to which Christian zeal has given rise, place the ministers before their flocks in a position of disinterested exertion and self-denying labour, such as stimulates affection, and secures respect; in a word, augments their proper influence. These enterprises, moreover, involve measures, private and public, which induce habits of business and government, habits applicable to other purposes, and highly important to the pastoral character. Again (nor is this of least account) our modern evangelic societies bring the pastors into frequent consultation among themselves, or in conjunction with the most respectable of the laity. In some degree, therefore, congregationalism is congregationalism no longer. Ministers are now a body; they work in with extensive organizations; they are members of broad systems of government; they go and come from their spheres of labour with

* On the contrary, he remarks with equal truth and severity, that 'a hierarchy never reforms itself; no corporation regenerates by spontaneous energy: it must be brought back to duty and virtue by a hand from without.' (p. 105.)

hearts relieved of the pressure of private cares, by the excitement of public cares. They are not, as once they were, the spirit-broken and deplorable anchorites of the study and the pulpit. They are of more importance at home, and of more importance abroad, than were their predecessors. They have made proof, in a signal and peculiar manner, of the truth of the axiom—that "Mercy is twice blessed." The missionary spirit, and its practices and movements, have redeemed congregational dissent from decay or extinction; and have brought to bear upon it a corrective, so efficacious, as almost to hide its capital faults. In the beneficial change that has thus taken place, the congregational laity have not indeed relinquished any power; but their clergy, from a foreign source, have acquired power; and so the balance is a little righted.' pp. 390, 391.

It is a noble axiom, that the only way to preserve or retain Christianity, is, to diffuse it. Should ever the missionary spirit, which is the true spirit of the voluntary system, again desert Congregationalism, we shall not care much what becomes of the *caput mortuum*.

We had intended to advert more distinctly to some of the Writer's objections against the Congregational polity; but our limits forbid. We must protest, however, against the unfairness of comparing, not the Church and State system and the Dissenting system as they are found co-existing, but the latter in its actual state, with the former in its ideal and never to be realized condition. Either let us compare the Church as it is with Dissent as it is, or the Church as it ought to be with Dissent as it might be. Dissenting Reform, whether more or less needed, is immeasurably more practicable, and more probable, than any Church Reform which can approach to the Utopian Episcopacy of our Author and many excellent Idealists of the same sentiments.

The most beautifully written and striking portion of the present work is the chapter on the Jewish hierarchy, from which we should have liked to give copious extracts. But we must here take leave of the Author, with the expression of our undiminished respect for his attainments, his eloquence, his piety, and his patriotic intentions, and our confidence in his singleness of purpose. But a retired thinker is liable to make great mistakes in practical matters; and our Author is too rhetorical a reasoner to be a good polemic. He has, in this volume, strayed from his proper orbit. When we next catch sight of him, we hope it will be in that upper heaven of holy meditation in which the Author of "Saturday Evening" moves as within his proper sphere.

Art. V. *An Historical Inquiry concerning the Principles, Opinions, and Usages of the English Presbyterians*; chiefly from the Restoration of Charles the Second to the Death of Queen Anne. By Joshua Wilson, Esq. 8vo, pp. 256. London, 1835.

THE rapid conversion of English Presbyterianism into that ambiguous and skulking heresy, Modern Unitarianism, is a phenomenon which deserves a more attentive examination than it has yet received. It is true, that Independency has gained the ground which Orthodox Presbyterianism has lost; and the Author of "*Spiritual Despotism*" tells us, in language which seems to bemoan the calamity, that 'the English Dissenters have fallen 'from Presbyterianism to Congregationalism;' that is, they have fallen *upwards*, and expanded from a decaying sect into an energetic and powerful body. But there is one part of Presbyterianism,—an external part, indeed, yet essential to its existence, for it has never been able to stand its ground without it,—which has not shared in this transformation; and that is, its endowments. These remain as a monument of the Presbyterian faith and piety of former centuries; and so long as they survive, the name of Presbyterianism is immortal. It is true, the original family line is extinct, but the name *goes with the estate*; and Unitarianism is, for all the purposes of trusts and endowments, as orthodox as the Assembly's Catechism or the Thirty-nine Articles can make it. We all know that there are titles dependent upon feudal tenure: in like manner, so long as any parties hold Presbyterian property, can there be a reasonable doubt that they are thereby constituted Presbyterians?

But certain parties, not content with this undeniable proof of their title to the name of Presbyterians, wish to make us believe that they hold substantially the same creed as their pious predecessors, and that 'the two bodies of Presbyterian and Congregational Dissenters were, at the beginning of the last century, 'opposed to each other on the same essential points' on which modern Independents and Unitarians are now opposed. The truth or falsehood of this statement can be determined only by an appeal to existing documents. Accordingly, Mr. Joshua Wilson, to whose zealous and indefatigable labours the Dissenting public are under numerous obligations, has here presented to us the result of a careful examination of books and pamphlets written by eminent English Presbyterian divines, during the period in question, which seem to place beyond all reasonable doubt the fact, 'that the English Presbyterians, from the Revolution to 'the death of Queen Anne, adhered, from conviction, to the orthodox faith professed by their predecessors during the Long 'Parliament.'

Apart from all litigation respecting the rightful claim to trusts and charities, this inquiry is one of deep interest, as it affects the memory of the venerable founders of that once flourishing community of Christian Professors, and as it bears upon the religious history of our own country. Mr. Wilson's Inquiry is prosecuted by the patient labour of citation from a mass of documents. The most numerous extracts are from the works of Richard Baxter and Dr. Daniel Williams, both of whom took a prominent part in the affairs of the Presbyterian body. But various public declarations of faith, and the Heads of Agreement assented to by the United Ministers of the two denominations, in 1691, are adduced to disprove the representation, that the doctrinal sentiments of the Presbyterians were at that time at all approaching to those of Modern Unitarians. The assertion that they held 'a modified Arminianism,' Mr. Wilson thus meets.

'I shall now produce a passage from 'A Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England,' containing also an attack on Dissenters, by Dr. William Nichols, published in 1715:—"If we consider the different phrase and method of their prayers, some being Calvinistical, others Arminian; though we could think the Holy Spirit would descend to the singularities of these theologists, yet we must not charge him with such contrarieties and clashings as they are guilty of." The learned James Peirce, in his Vindication of the Dissenters, published in answer to the work from which the above is taken, thus animadverts on this vituperative passage: "Who, I pray, are those Armenians amongst us? Our author, perhaps, here meant the Quakers, or some of the Anabaptists. But if we will speak the truth, the Arminians themselves are hardly Arminians in offering up their prayers to God."

'Can any person suppose for a moment, after reading this passage, that the Presbyterians, any more than the Independents, or those called "Particular Baptists," were at that time Arminians?

'But to place the matter beyond the possibility of doubt, I will quote a passage from Dr. Calamy's "Brief but True Account of the Protestant Dissenters in England," first printed at the end of a sermon, published in 1717:—

"But notwithstanding these, and some other such differences among themselves [on the mode of Church Government and Baptism] they generally agree in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, (which they subscribe,) the Confession of Faith, and larger and smaller Catechisms, compiled by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the judgment of the British Divines at the Synod of Dort, about the Quinquarticular Controversies."—p. 101.

One of the earliest avowed Arminians among the Presbyterians, was the celebrated Dr. George Benson, who was ordained at Abingdon in 1723. It must be recollected, that Arminianism had long been fashionable within the Establishment; and that Dissent received the infection both of that system and of Socinian-

ism from the Episcopal Church. A Mr. Thomas Newman, who became assistant to Dr. Wright, at Carter Lane, Doctor's Commons, in 1718, and was afterwards pastor till his death in 1758, 'was probably,' Mr. Wilson states, 'the first Dissenting minister who defended the doctrine generally indicated by the phrase, *the innocence of mental error*, which had been broached in this country by Dr. Sykes, a clergyman of the Church of England in 1715.'

We cannot attempt any abstract of the mass of materials which Mr. Wilson has here brought together. The pamphlet is not deficient in either perspicuity or arrangement; but it would have been far more readable, had Mr. Wilson divided it into sections, and indicated, by head lines, the points which the citations are meant to substantiate. It would have been worth while, also, to have furnished an Index or Table of Contents. He has amply made out his case; but the reader, after going through the whole, will still find it difficult to tax his memory with the details, and will feel at a loss for want of a judicious summing up of the main features of the evidence.

ART. VI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the Press, Chronological Charts, illustrative of Ancient History and Geography. By John Drew.

In the Press, Lectures on Moral Philosophy. By R. D. Hampden, D.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford.

In the Press, Letters on the Philosophy of Unbelief. By the Rev. James Wills.

In the Press, The Fifth Edition of The Steam Engine, explained and illustrated in a familiar style, with its application to the Arts and Manufactures, more especially in transport by Land and Water; with some Account of the Rail Roads now in progress in various parts of the World. By the Rev. Dionysius Lardner, LL.D., 12mo. Illustrated with numerous Engravings and Wood Cuts.

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Shortly will be published, in 1 Vol. 12mo, Hints on the Regulation of Christian Churches, adapted to the present state of their Affairs. By the Rev. C. Stovel.

Mrs. Joanna Baillie has in the Press, three new volumes of Dramas on the Passions and Miscellaneous Dramas.

The Nineteenth part of Views in England and Wales, from drawings by J. M. W. Turner, Esq., R.A., with descriptive and historic illustrations by H. E. Lloyd, Esq., in 4to, will be published shortly.

The Second Part of Practical Observations on the immediate treatment of the Principal Emergencies that occur in Surgery and Midwifery, systematically arranged. By W. S. Oke, M.D., is nearly ready.

In the Press, the Autobiography of an Irish Traveller, in 3 vols. post 8vo.

In the Press, the Life and Times of William III., King of England and Stadtholder of Holland. By the Hon. Arthur Trevor, M.P., M.A., &c., Christ Church, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo.

In the Press, Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple. By the Right Hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay.

In the Press, Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon. By T. H. Lister, Esq., author of Granby, &c.; with a Portrait.

In the Press, the Life of Edward the Black Prince. By G. P. R. James, Esq., Author of "Darnley," "Richelieu," the "Gipsy," &c.

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In the Press, Boyhood, a Poem. With other Poems and Translations. By Charles A. Elton, Author of a translation of Hesiod. With a frontispiece by Lightfoot, from an original Picture by Ripplingille.

The Antiquities of Athens accurately measured and delineated by Stuart and Revett, are now in a course of republication in imperial folio: this work contains 384 engravings by eminent artists, accompanied by Essays, architectural, classical, historical, explanatory, and descriptive; exhibiting and elucidating the purest examples of Grecian Architecture. The re-issue is published in parts at five shillings each, any of which may be procured separately.

The re-issue of the Architectural Antiquities of Rome, by Antoine Desgodetz, Architect to his Most Christian Majesty, and Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy of the Fine Arts at Paris, is now in rapid progress, in parts at five shillings each: it will comprize 137 folio plates, selected from the most esteemed specimens of Roman magnificence, with descriptions and explanations: any particular number may be obtained at the option of the purchaser. The scrupulous accuracy of the measurements, no less than the judicious selection of elegant subjects, has ever excited the admiration of scientific professors; to the student in architecture it is invaluable.

ART. VII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Lord Teignmouth's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir William Jones; with Notes, Selections from his Works, and a Life of Lord Teignmouth. By the Rev. Samuel Charles Wilks, M.A. 2 vol. Foolscep 8vo., with Portraits. 10s. 6d.

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Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke, and of his Times. By George Wingrove Cooke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 2 vols. 8vo., with fine Portrait.

An Historical Inquiry concerning the Principles, Opinions, and Usages of the English Presbyterians; chiefly from the Restoration of Charles the Second to the death of Queen Anne. By Joshua Wilson, Esq. 8vo., 5s.

••• This publication is intended to disprove the assertions contained in several pamphlets relating to Lady Hewley's case.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Old Maids; their Varieties, Characters, and Conditions. Post 8vo., 6s.

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The Faust of Goethe; attempted in English Rhyme. By the Hon. Robert Talbot. Demy 8vo., 8s.

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Relics of the Sacred Ministry, being Thirteen Discourses, by the late Rev. Philip Bearcroft, D.D., Master of the Charter House, Prebendary of Ely, and Clerk of the Closet to George II. 1 vol. 8vo.

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A Voyage of Discovery to Africa and Arabia, performed in H.M.S. Leven and Barracouta, from 1822 to 1826, under the command of Captain F. W. W. Owen, R.N. By Captain Thomas Boteler, R.N., under the directions of the Lords of the Admiralty. 2 vols. 8vo., with Plates.